



**EMPOWERMENT OF PANCHAYATI RAJ  
INSTITUTION THROUGH 73<sup>rd</sup> AMENDMENT:  
IT S PROS AND CONSEQUENCES**

**ABSTRACT  
THESIS**

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

**Doctor of Philosophy**

IN

**SOCIOLOGY**

*By*

**CHAUDHRY MOHD PARVEZ ALAM**

Under the Supervision of

**Prof. Noor Mohammad**

**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK  
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY  
ALIGARH (INDIA)**

**2007**

## **Abstract**

The village *panchayat* has existed since time immemorial in India. There are references of village assemblies during the time of Pallavas and Cholas, which were known by different names in different parts of the country. There was a *sabha* or council or in many villages, supervised by a headman which used to discuss the problems and welfare of the villages. During colonial rule the Village *panchayats* were reviewed, so that British Govt. could preserve and stabilize its political control. A special commission was appointed in 1909 on local self government which suggested the need for revitalizing Village *panchayats* for handling local affairs. Subsequently, a number of Acts were passed, but the *panchayats* formed under these Acts were not democratic bodies as their members were mostly nominated by the Government.

But the philosophy of development which emerged in India after independence, emphasized the involvement of the people into a structure that would enable them to actively participate in the process of decision making. Mahatma Gandhi had pointed out that *"Independence must begin at the bottom. Every village should be republic or panchayats having full powers. The greater the power for panchayats the better for the people"*. So in order to bring democracy to the grass root level and involve people in decision making, Article 40 of the Directive Principle of the State policy of the Constitution came into being

which lays down that “the state shall take steps to organize Village *panchayats* and endow them with such powers and may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self Government. On the other hand, the introduction of the Community development program in first five year plan gave a new dimension as impetus to the participation of people in development.

But there was a lack of enthusiasms among people in community development programs due to the non association of the people and their representatives in the planning and execution of development schemes. And Article 40 is under Directive Principles due to which the state govt., could not be challenged if it is not effectively practicing the *panchayat* system. Therefore in order to evaluate the working of community development and to suggest ways and means to overcome the shortfalls of the programs, the study team on Community Projects and National Extension Service with Balwantrai Mehta as chairman was appointed by the committee on plan Project of the Planning Commission in 1957. Then the committee had recommended the introduction of *panchayati raj* System in India. While explaining its philosophy the study team observed: *panchayati raj* system establishes a linkage between local leadership enjoying confidence of local people and the governments and translates the policies of the govt. into action. Therefore *panchayati raj*

System came into existence in 1959 with the twin objectives of democratic decentralization and peoples participation in planned programs. This plan had recommended a three tier system of *panchayati raj* with village *panchayat* at the lower level, *zilla parishad* at the apex (District level), and a *panchayat Samiti* at the intermediate (Block level).

After about a decade and half of existence of the *panchayati raj* Institution in the country, a committee was appointed by the Janta Govt. in 1977 under the Chairmanship of Ashok Mehta to review the working of *panchayati raj* Institution and submitted its report in 1978 with 138 recommendations. The committee further noted: Worse of all, there was lack of clarity in regard to the concept of *panchayati raj* itself and the objectives for which it should stand. Some would treat it just as an administrative agency; others as an extension of democracy at the grass root level; and still others as an extension of democracy at the grass root level; and still others as a charter of rural local Government.

However, Congress(I) Govt. under Narsimha Rao, carried out the 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitution Amendment in December 1992 to decentralize the power, down to village level. With the amendment, the *panchayati raj* institution have been provided constitutional status, which is constituted through direct elections,



with provision of reservation of seats for scheduled casts, scheduled tribes and women. It has a fixed term of five years and if they are dissolved before the expiry of this term, election must be held within six months. The State Government can bestow powers to these bodies, which may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions of self government. The *panchayati raj* Institutions have been authorized to make laws concerning economic and social development of Villages. These have been listed in the Eleventh Schedule and comprise 29 subjects. A state finance commission is appointed by the Governor of each state, which reviews the financial position of the *panchayats* and make recommendations to the Governor for the distribution of the net proceeds of taxes between the State and *panchayats*. It also recommends grants in aid to the *panchayats*, from the consolidated fund of the state. The Amendment provided a three tier system of the *panchayati raj* at the Village, intermediate and district levels.

Today, a decade and a half after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, and, a decade after the enactment's extension to scheduled areas, it appears appropriate to review the functioning of the *panchayats* in order to ascertain, how and to what extent, has the *panchayats* institutions enabled people to participate in delivering good governance at local levels. The present research is focused therefore, on describing the extent to which the provisions of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional

Amendment have been implemented. For this, the Lodha Block in Aligarh District, in Uttar Pradesh was very closely surveyed. It is one of the 12 Blocks in Aligarh, with an area of 280.45 sq.km, which is 5.6 per cent of the total area of the district. It is 7 kilometers from the district headquarters. It has 92 *gram panchayats* which cover 130 villages. In 1991, the Census put the total population of Lodha Block, Aligarh (U.P.) At 152651, which in the 2001 census was put at 200642, an increase of 23.91 per cent. Of this, that is of 200642 in 2001, the scheduled caste population was 52450, that is 26.14 per cent of the entire Lodha Block. The data collected is on the basis of an interview schedule which has been analysed item-wise.

The major objectives of the present research problem are as under :

- 1. To analyse whether Age, Caste , Sex , Education and Occupation play any role in the emergence of new patterns of village leadership or not.**
- 2. To study the patterns of emerging leadership at the village levels.**
- 3. To explore and to understand the functioning of the *panchayati raj* Institutions in general, and the *gram panchayat* in particular, in the post amendment period.**

4. To assess whether these *panchayati raj* Institutions particularly the *gram panchayats* are effectively functioning or not.
5. To explore and assess whether they function independently, i.e. without any interference from the government machinery.
6. To assess the level of peoples participation in these Institutions.
7. To assess and to study the functioning of the various *gram samities* and the involvement of village people in them.
8. To explore and analyse the development strategies adopted and implemented by involving village people.
9. To study and analyse the development works taken up by these *panchayats* especially the *gram panchayats*.
10. To evaluate the development programmes and to assess their impact on the life of the people.

The study reveals that the new Act has resulted in the political and social empowerment of the people in the villages. Each village has *Gram panchayat* in the block. Seats are reserved as per the guidelines and on rotational basis. *panchayat* elections have regularly been held in 1995, 2000 and 2005 without delay as stipulated in the 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitution Amendment Act. The 5-year tenure is being completed by the *panchayats*. Even though the study finds the domination of the upper castes in village politics but this domination is on

decline. Of the 92 *pradhans* elected in the year 2000, 37 *pradhan* (40 per cent) belonged to the upper castes, 33 *pradhans* (35 per cent) from the Other Backward Castes and 22 *pradhans* (23 per cent) from Scheduled castes. However, in the elections held in 2005, the number of *pradhans* elected from upper castes went down to 35 i.e. 38 per cent and the number of *pradhans* elected from Scheduled Castes increased to 24 i.e. 26 per cent. The *pradhans* belonging to the Other Backward Castes category maintained the same position in these two elections. We also find that in these election a sizable number of leaders i.e. 48 per cent came from 26-30 and 30-40 years age group, indicating that the old age leadership is gradually giving place to the leaders of younger and middle age. This clearly indicates that there is a crack in the traditional concept of rural leadership and the leadership is passing in the hands of younger and middle age group from the old age group. The data also show that women *pradhan* represented 35 per cent in the year 1995, 36.90 per cent in 2000 and 36.90 per cent in 2005. This trend is in complete contrast with the traditional village *panchayats* where there was total male dominance. Although it has become possible due to the obligatory provision of 33 per cent reservation for women under the Amendment Act but the data show that women representation exceeded more than one – third seats in *panchayats*. Women also were elected from un-reserved seat. In 1995 only

one was elected from un-reserved seat, while this number increased to 4 in 2000 and 2005. Clearly women are challenging what was called male bastion in village politics.

If one compares with the old *panchayats* in the block before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitution Amendment, one finds there is total metamorphosis so far leadership of *Gram panchayat* is concerned. The leadership in the old *panchayats* was basically decided on the basis of caste affiliation, size of land holding, age and sex, etc. However, after passing of 73<sup>rd</sup> amendment a paradigm shift in emerging leadership has taken place. Thus people from the lower castes, lower age group, poor with no land holding and a large number of women have been elected as *pradhans* in the *panchayat* elections held so far.

Thus, one can say the Constitutional mandate for the marginalised sections such as Scheduled Castes and women had provided them political space. It has also led to the emergence of women as well as deprived castes as leaders. Their participation has not only led to their personal growth but has also enabled them to respond to the needs of the more vulnerable sections of the village community. Instead of the constitutionally reserved one third seats, women members and office bearers in *panchayats* today account for

approximately forty-two per cent of the elected representatives at all India level.

The study also revealed that old *panchayats* were not entrusted with any financial power and hence could do nothing for the development of the village. Of 28 elected *pradhans* in 1995 elections who were interviewed, 78 per cent of them said that *panchayats* constituted before 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment suffered from lack of fund. A similar view was expressed by the majority of *pradhans* elected in 2000 and 2005 elections. If we take a collective opinion of 212 *pradhans*, 85 per cent of them said that the old *panchayats* had no financial power and the villages could not be developed as expected by the people. 83 per cent of respondents including *pradhans* and villagers are of the opinion that the role of bureaucrats in matters of *panchayat* functioning is declining today. Their interference is less frequent and the power is passing in the hands of *panchayat* officials now. But 9 per cent people say that the bureaucrats still interference, while 8 per cent had no opinion.

Consequent to the 73rd Constitution Amendment Act political decentralization has taken place in almost all the States where elections have been held. As the field study shows that the objective of creating a strong base of political empowerment of people at the grass level has by and large been achieved. However, the spirit of the Constitution Amendment goes beyond political

empowerment. The essence is that the elected representatives should be able to function as units of rural local self government. So, the emphasis is to empower them with certain functional mandates, give them a significant degree of autonomy and impart to them an element of self-reliance and self-sufficiency through transfer of functionaries, fiscal transfers, taxation powers and tax assignments. However, we find the progress on fiscal and functional decentralization transfer of functionaries has been mixed. There are States which have taken steps to devolve funds, functions and functionaries to the PRIs. The field study shows that Uttar Pradesh which has had little experience of decentralization have made the most fundamental changes in this regard and has registered considerable progress on all counts. But yet much is left to be achieved to make these institutions really self-governing.

The challenge of making this new phase of democratic decentralization successful depends on the commitment of the political leadership, bureaucracy and the people themselves. The state governments have the responsibility of transferring schemes as provided in the XI Schedule of the Constitution and also of transferring corresponding funds to the *panchayats*. Similarly, the staff available for the implementation of schemes related to these subjects should also be placed under the control of the *panchayats*.



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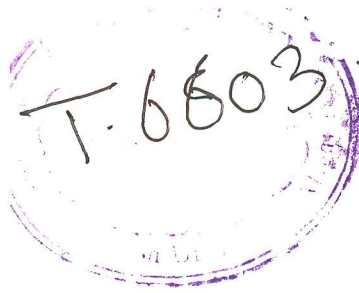
**Prof. Noor Mohammad**



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Through 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment: It s Pros &  
Consequences.**

**Dr. Noor Mohammad**

M.A. (Eco.), M.A. (Soc.) Ph.D.

PROFESSOR & CHAIRMAN



Phones } Office : 2707077  
Res. : 2401942

Mobile : 9897252640

E-mail : noormohd@sancharnet.in

**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY  
AND SOCIAL WORK**

**ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY  
ALIGARH—202002**

Dated .....

## CERTIFICATE

Certified that the thesis entitled “**Empowerment of Panchayati Raj Institution through 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment: It s Pros and Consequences**”, being submitted to Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh for the award of **Ph.D.** Degree in **Sociology** embodies the original research work of **Mr. Chaudhry Mohd. Parvez Alam**, Research Scholar and is a record of bonafide research carried out by him under my supervision.

(PROF. NOOR MOHAMMAD)  
SUPERVISOR

## Contents

Acknowledgement	I
Glossary	III
List of Tables	VI
Preface	1
<b>Chapter I: Panchayats in India:</b>	
A Historical Perspective	3
<b>Chapter II: Methodology</b>	79
<b>Chapter III: Analysis of Data collected in Lodha</b>	
Block of Aligarh District	
in U.P. (India)	84
<b>Chapter IV: Profile of Pradhans: More Particularly</b>	
Pradhans after 73 <sup>rd</sup> Amendment	182
<b>Chapter V: Conclusion</b>	207
Annexure-I	227
Annexure-II	234
Question our	240
Bibliography	252

### **Acknowledgement**

It is solely and exclusively due to the mercy of almighty “ALLAH” without whose blessings the present work would not have been possible.

I have great pleasure in expressing thanks and profound sense of gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Noor Mohammad for his painstaking and able guidance. His sense of responsibility towards this work, constructive criticism and wise council smoothed the rough patches and his able guidance throughout, are the pillars up on which this thesis stands.

I want to offer my gratitude with great honor and respect to my parents whose love and prayers have always been a great source of strength to me and have proved icon for the ship of my carrier. My heart goes out in reverence to them for their tremendous patience, endurance and affections.

I welcome this opportunity to place on record my profound and warmest gratitude to aunty (Mrs. Noor) and Prof. Iqbal, for their co-operation, understanding attitude and helpful advice, I shall be behold. Both of them played a magnificent role in the completion of this study.

I also feel great pleasure in expressing thanks from the bottom of my heart to Advocate Mohammed Irshad Hanif, Parvez Hanif for their moral encouragement and providing necessary facilities that I need for my research work, their constrictive guidance, constant inspiration, valuable advice and moral encouragement, has accelerated me to reach my destination. Their suggestions have added more dimensions to the study.

I do not find adequate words to express my thanks to Dr. Nadeem Noor who helped me a lot in processing the thesis work.

I am extremely thankful to my younger brother Dr. Feroz Alam, elder sister Dr. Neelofar, Brother-in-law Dr. Muzaffar for their constant sympathetic attitude and special blessings for me.

I am also thankful to all my friends, relatives, and staff of the Department who helped me during this work.

Lastly but by no means least, I would specially like to thank my wife Mrs. Shahnaz Parveen for the sustained help, encouragement, moral boost-up and kind cooperation which I received from her she has always been there to share my moments of distress and joy and make my research work more successful. There is no way I could have completed this work without her endless forbearance and kind affection.

I also wish to thank my kids Irtiqa and Huzaifa, and my sisters' daughters Faiza and Faiqa whose smiling faces were always a source of strength and encouragement for me.

## Glossary of terms

<i>adhiniyam</i>	An Act containing provisions of law approved by a legislature.
<i>adhyaksha</i>	president
<i>adivasi</i>	a tribal
<i>anganwadi</i>	a centre, under a Government of India programme – Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS), where supplementary food is provided to pregnant women and infant children
<i>bhawan</i>	building
<i>crore</i>	ten million
<i>Nalla</i>	a small bridge on a canal or drain
<i>dalit</i>	a person from a scheduled caste
<i>gram nyayalaya adhiniyam</i>	Village Court Act
<i>gram panchayat</i>	The lowest tier of the <i>panchayat raj</i> institution which is formed on the basis of population and consists of one or more than one revenue village. The population of a <i>panchayat</i> cannot be less than 1,000
<i>gram raksha samiti</i>	village protection committee
<i>gram sabha</i>	The assembly of the persons of a revenue village whose names are included in the voters list
<i>gram Sevak</i>	a village worker working for the government
<i>gram swaraj</i>	village self-rule
<i>gram vikas samiti</i>	village development committee
<i>harijan</i>	a term used by Gandhi for a person from a scheduled caste.
<i>Indira Awas Yojana</i>	shelter assistance for families living below the poverty line
<i>janpad panchayat</i>	the second tier of <i>panchayat raj</i> institutions, i.e. the council of the

<i>Jawahar Rojgar Yojana</i>	elected representatives at the block level
<i>kalyan</i>	an employment guarantee scheme.
<i>karmi</i>	welfare
<i>kharanja</i>	an employee
<i>krishi samiti</i>	brick road
<i>kotwar/chaukidar</i>	agriculture committee
	the person who works as the guard of the village
<i>lakh</i>	one hundred thousand
<i>Lok Sabha</i>	the lower house of the Parliament
<i>mahila</i>	woman
<i>mandal</i>	an administrative category
	denoting a zone smaller than a district
<i>mandir</i>	temple
<i>nirman</i>	construction
<i>panch</i>	an elected representative of a <i>gram</i>
<i>panchayat karmi</i>	the person who works as the secretary of the <i>gram panchayat</i>
	traditional institution of local rural self governance
<i>panchayati raj</i>	registration
<i>panjikaran</i>	the lowest official of the Revenue Department posted at the village level
<i>patwari</i>	
<i>pardhan</i>	<i>the head of an</i> institution of local rural self governance
<i>Rajya Sabha</i>	the upper house of the Parliament
<i>Rojgar Yojana</i>	an employment scheme
<i>sabha manch</i>	a podium
<i>samajik nyay samiti</i>	Social Justice Committee
<i>samiti</i>	a committee
<i>sanshodhan</i>	amendment
<i>sarpanch</i>	the head of a <i>gram panchayat</i>
<i>sarpanchpati</i>	<i>the</i> husband of the sarpanch
<i>shiksha karmi</i>	persons engaged in the teaching at the schools that are being run under the Rajiv Gandhi Shiksha (Education) Mission
<i>shiksha samiti</i>	an education committee
<i>swasthya samiti</i>	health committee



<i>taluka</i>	an administrative category denoting a zone smaller than a district
<i>tehsildar</i>	officer in charge of a tehsil
<i>tehsil</i>	an administrative category denoting a revenue zone much smaller than a District
<i>upsarpanch</i>	deputy head of the <i>gram</i> <i>panchayat</i> , elected among the <i>panches</i> of a <i>panchayat</i>
<i>Zamedar</i>	Major land holder of the village
<i>Zila panchayat</i>	the highest tier of the <i>panchayat</i> <i>raj</i> institution, formed at the district level
<i>Zila Parishad</i>	<i>an</i> advisory body at the district level

### List of Tables

S.No.	Table	Page No.
1.	Age wise Distribution of Village <i>Pradhans</i>	86
2.	Sex-Wise Distribution of Village <i>Pradhans</i>	88
3.	Personal Traits of Women <i>Pradhans</i>	89
4.	Religious Distribution of <i>Pradhans</i>	90
5.	Caste Distribution of <i>Pradhans</i>	91
6.	Literacy Status of Elected <i>Pradhans</i>	92
7.	Education Level of <i>Pradhans</i>	93
8.	Occupational Status of <i>Pradhans</i>	95
9.	Economic Status of <i>Pradhans</i>	97
10.	<i>Pradhans</i> and their Political Affiliations	98
11.	Party-wise Wise Affiliation of Village Leaders	100
12.	Caste-wise Distribution of Political Affiliation of <i>Pradhans</i>	101
13.	Old <i>Panchayats</i> and their power	103
14.	Old <i>Panchayats</i> and Economic Power	104
15.	<i>Panchayats</i> and the Dynamics of Social Categories	105

16. Education in old <i>Panchayats</i>	107
17. Level of Participation in Old <i>Panchayats</i>	108
18. An Overall View of Old <i>Panchayats</i>	110
19. The Performance of Old <i>Panchayats</i> and Peoples Dis-Satisfaction	111
20. Pattern of Election in Old and New <i>Panchayats</i>	112
21. Level and Degree of Performance of Old <i>Panchayats</i>	113
22. New <i>Panchayats</i> and Benefits Accruing to the People	114
23. Representation of SC/ST in <i>Panchayat</i> after the 73 <sup>rd</sup> Amendment	115
24. The Age-group Representation in Current <i>Panchayats</i>	116
25. Gender Discrimination in Current <i>Panchayats</i>	117
26. Influence of <i>Zamindari</i> on Current <i>Panchayats</i>	118
27. Peoples' Participation in Current <i>Panchayats</i>	119
28. Role of Bureaucracy on Current <i>Panchayats</i>	120
29. Role of Education in Leadership-building in Current <i>Panchayats</i>	121
30. Constitution of <i>Panchayats samitis</i>	122
31. Planning of the Development Work	123
32. Poverty Alleviation Programme	124
33. <i>Gram Panchayat</i> Consultation on	

<b>Development Programmes</b>	<b>125</b>
34. <b>Development Suggestions</b>	<b>126</b>
35. <b>Holding of Meeting of <i>Panchayats</i></b>	<b>127</b>
36. <b><i>Panchayat</i> performance presented before Villagers</b>	<b>128</b>
37. <b>Available Funds and Development through <i>Panchayats</i></b>	<b>129</b>
38. <b>Development of Village and Other Agencies</b>	<b>130</b>
39. <b>Participation of SC/ST Development Activities</b>	<b>131</b>
40. <b>Role of the Opposition in <i>Panchayats</i></b>	<b>132</b>
41. <b><i>Gram Panchayat</i> and Development Work</b>	<b>133</b>
42. <b>Bureaucracy and <i>Panchayat</i> Development</b>	<b>134</b>
43. <b>Role of <i>Panchayats</i> in the Maintenance of Hand-pumps/Tubewells etc.</b>	<b>135</b>
44. <b><i>Gram Panchayats</i> and Agriculture</b>	<b>136</b>
45. <b><i>Gram Panchayats</i> and Land Reforms</b>	<b>137</b>
46. <b><i>Gram Panchayats</i> and Income-Generation Schemes</b>	<b>138</b>
47. <b><i>Gram Panchayats</i> and Fishery</b>	<b>139</b>
48. <b><i>Gram Panchayats</i> and Avas Vikas Yojna</b>	<b>140</b>
49. <b><i>Gram Panchayats</i> and Cottage Industries</b>	<b>141</b>

50. <i>Gram Panchayats and the Supply</i>	
<b>of Fodder and Energy</b>	<b>142</b>
51. <i>Gram Panchayat and Transport</i>	<b>143</b>
52. <i>Gram Panchayat and Electricity Supply</i>	<b>144</b>
53. <i>Gram Panchayats and Poverty</i>	
<b>Alleviation Programmes</b>	<b>145</b>
54. <b>Role of <i>Gram Panchayats</i> and Sanitation</b>	<b>146</b>
55. <i>Gram Panchayats and the Socially Challenged</i>	<b>147</b>
56. <i>Gram Panchayats and Marginalised Section</i>	<b>148</b>
57. <i>Gram Panchayats and the Quality of Work</i>	<b>149</b>
58. <i>Gram Panchayats and Libraries</i>	<b>150</b>
59. <b>Vocational/Technical Education and</b>	
<i>Gram Panchayats</i>	<b>151</b>
60. <b>Educational Institution in Villages</b>	<b>152</b>
61. <b>Grading at Educational Institutions</b>	<b>153</b>
62. <b>A Child's Accessibility to Education</b>	<b>154</b>
63. <b>School and the Girl Child</b>	<b>155</b>
64. <i>Panchayats and Schools</i>	<b>156</b>
65. <b>Education for Underprivileged Children</b>	<b>157</b>
66. <b>Adult Education in Villages</b>	<b>158</b>

67. Toilet Facility at School	159
68. Drinking-water Facility at School	160
69. Empowerment of Women through Reservation	161
70. Women's Participation in Developmental Activities	162
71. Anganwadi and ANM Co-ordination	163
72. ANM'S Visits to the Village	164
73. Pregnant Women and Supply of I.F.A. Tablets	165
74. P.H.C. and their Role in the Villages	166
75. Role of ANMS in Family Planning	167
76. <i>Panchayats</i> and the ANM'S	168
77. <i>Gram Panchayats</i> meetings	169
78. Issue of Notice of <i>Gram Panchayats</i> Meetings	170
79. Agenda of Meetings Given on Time	171
80. Nepotism in <i>Panchayats</i>	172
81. Attention Towards Problems of Villagers	173
82. <i>Panchayati Raj</i> System and Realization of Goals	174
83. <i>Panchayati Raj</i> System and Leadership	175
84. <i>Panchayati Raj</i> System and Social Justice	176
85. <i>Panchayati Raj</i> System and Equality	177

86. Elected Representatives under the New	
<i>Panchayati Raj</i> System and their Training	178
87. Future Training of <i>Panchayat</i> Members	179
88. Training Representatives and	
Functioning of <i>Panchayats</i>	180

## Preface

The Constitution of India inaugurated an era of participatory democracy effective from 26<sup>th</sup> January, 1950 on the basis of a three-tier administrative system. That was half a century ago. Today, it appears that the two lower tiers have had their autonomy and jurisdiction corroded considerably. This apart, the lower two tiers have often been neglected even at the planning and implementation levels. When some members of Parliament re-acted, Article 40 in Part IV of Indian Constitution was made to incorporate a mandatory directive, though ever since *panchayats* have remain at the mercy of governments and also, though it did become a political issue in almost all States. The 73<sup>rd</sup> *Constitutional Amendment* can be considered a milestone in decentralization for, it providing certainty, continuity and strength to the *panchayati raj* System in the country. Subsequently, the system was also extended to Scheduled Areas by the provisions of the *panchayats* (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996. Today, a decade and a half after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, and, a decade after the enactment's extension to scheduled areas, it appears appropriate to review the functioning of the *panchayats* in order to ascertain, how and to what extent, has the *panchayats* institutions enabled people to participate in delivering good governance at local levels, and, on the basis of the data collected, suggest ways to further strengthen *panchayati raj* in the country. The present research endeavours to assess the empowerment, as well as, the



entitlement of rural people through the *panchayat* institution. Has the *panchayat* helped deliver good governance because of the village people's active and functional participation? Have the excluded and marginalized groups also benefited from this active functional participation? And, what could be the policy prescription for effective local self-government?

The present research is focused therefore, on describing the extent to which the provisions of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment have been implemented. For this, the Lodha Block in Aligarh District, in Uttar Pradesh was very closely surveyed. It is one of the 12 Blocks in Aligarh, with an area of 280.45 sq.km, which is 5.6 per cent of the total area of the district. It is 7 kilometers from the district headquarters. It has 92 *gram panchayats* which cover 130 villages. In 1991, the Census put the total population of Lodha Block, Aligarh (U.P.) At 152651, which in the 2001 census was put at 200642, an increase of 23.91 per cent . Of this, that is of 200642 in 2001, the scheduled caste population was 52450, that is 26.14 per cent of the entire Lodha Block. The data collected is on the basis of an interview schedule which has been analysed item-wise. The close survey, the populations covered, the number of *gram panchayats* and villages focused, as well as, the structured interview schedule, as also the item wise analysis, should it is felt, be entirely sufficient to arrive at a permissible researched assessment of one good example of the ground level implementation of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment.

## **Chapter - I**

### **Panchayats in India: A Historical Perspective**

Indian history is replete with evidence of decentralized governance. The *panchayat*-System is age old. It was there long before the Mughals and continued till the advent of the British, it was an effective system being quick, cost-effective and meaningful. In fact, it was in the county's culture. *panchayats* helped administer justice, resolve disputes, and solve every day-to-day problem, including those of the common man. Ofcourse, the British enforced their own system, suppressing a long prevalent indigenous administrative structure that percolated down to the every village level. After the British left, we had good reason to go back to the time-tested and highly satisfying system of *panchayati raj*. However, despite many attempts and proddings including those of Mahatma Gandhi himself as well as, many Commission and Committees *panchayat* system just could not be put into effective because of a recalcitrant burecracy and a landed gentry, as well as, an entrenched caste system, as also, vote bank politices. The 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment thus acted as a catalyst to bring back a system that was not new to India, only that it had gone out of vogue due to a very centralized and focused British administration.

Of the several Amendments made to the Constitution of India, the 73<sup>rd</sup> was unique, for though it harked back to the old, the change appeared progressive. Indeed it was refreshing for *WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA*. It

provided a basic framework to state governments inviting them to organize grass-root democracy as a system of governance to help develop and provide social justice. It added a new chapter to modern Indian political history. It restored confidence in government and empowered the poor jurisdictions which contrasted sharply with the difficulties faced earlier by the common people because of an ineffectual and centralized administration. In the past, the fruits of development were neither shared, nor did the poor and marginalised have access to them. The marginalized be they the poor, or be they women or rural people, continued to remain marginalized. So much so, that it was clear by the 1980s that a more egalitarian and balanced development was the dire need and for this, a more participative, democratic and decentralised bottom-up model of development had to be put in place.

And it was the 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment that cleared the way towards the crying necessity of decentralization. Literally, decentralization means the action or fact of reducing or undoing 'centralization' or 'concentration'. D.N.Gupta, defines it as "a process through which authority and responsibilities for some substantial government functions are transferred from central government to intermediate and local governments, and often also to communities. And lower-ranking decision-

units acquire all powers and responsibilities and have also control over the determination of their goals and targets.”<sup>1</sup>

He has further classified four dimensions of decentralization <sup>2</sup>, which he categorises as political, functional, administrative and financial:-

- **Political Decentralization**: It visualizes a transfer, of policy, decision-making and legislative powers, from a central government to democratically elected local bodies. Of course, the election is based on well-defined constituencies.
- **Functional Decentralization**: This too visualizes a transfer that is shift of subjects to local bodies to enable local bodies to plan and implement programmes according to local needs.
- **Administrative Decentralization**: This, yet again, is a shift of responsibility because local bodies themselves are asked to plan as well as to implement those plans, and in the process, defines the role and responsibilities of functionaries and elected members.
- **Financial Decentralization**: This too devolves, this time taxation, funds and expenditure powers upon local bodies.

De Souza (1999)<sup>3</sup> summarizes well the expectations put on decentralization as expressed by a large number of thinkers and organizations in India:

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<sup>1</sup> D.N.Gupta Decentralization- Need for Reforms, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2004, p-458

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p-459

<sup>3</sup> De Souza, Multi-State study of *panchayati raj* Legislation and Administrative Reform, Final Report, February, New Delhi, 1999, p-116

- (1) A more accessible, accountable and legitimate government;
- (2) Speedier resolution of local disputes;
- (3) A training ground for and more competition in political leadership;
- (4) Empowerment even of the most vulnerable and disadvantaged groups;
- (5) Better service delivery; and
- (6) A more sustainable and balanced village development

### **1.1 Evolution of the Panchayat System**

The word “*panchayat*” consists of two words i.e., *PANCH* and *AYAT*. The word “*Panch*” means five. An assembly of five persons which arbitrates upon a dispute is called *Panchas*. The word *AYAT* means a place, abode or house. In this sense, “*panchayat*” means a place where *Panchas* sit and arbitrate. Thus, *panchayats* have been organizations for adjudication of disputes<sup>4</sup>.

#### **Ancient India**

*panchayats* at the village level have existed in India since ancient times. These traditional *panchayats* were informal bodies of village elders, and were regarded sacred. Villagers considered the *Panchas*, the five arbitrators as the representatives of God. The *Panchas* were called *Parmeshwar*. Whenever there were aberrations in individual behavior, village *panchayat* applied the necessary correctives which were readily accepted because the *panchayat*, as an institution had full social sanction. The unanimous decision of the *Panchas* was not to be itemed, much less to be challenged. The *Panchas* by their exemplary conduct received full support of the entire community. They were responsible for ensuring peace, happiness and all-round development of the village community. The *Panchas* constituted different village councils /committees who discharged almost all the functions of government. These councils /committees existed with different names all over the Indian sub-continent. From inscriptions of the time of

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<sup>4</sup>Rajeshwar Dyal, *panchayati raj* in India, Metropolitan Book Co., Pvt. Ltd. 1, Delhi, 1970, p-60

the Chola King, Parataka, which is the ninth century, one learns that there were committees for the village, tank, garden, and for justice, as well as, for general supervision, general wards, fields, and gold supervision. And, that they existed not only during his period but even before. These committees and councils were representative bodies elected on some set electoral pattern.

Writing about these the village community in 1830, Sir Charles Metcalfe says that they “seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbled down; revolution succeeded revolution; Hindu, Pathan, Mughals, Maratha, Sikh, English, are all masters in turn; but the village communities remains the same .....This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered; and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence.”<sup>5</sup> It is evident from this that grass roots governance through *panchayats* was not only developed, but closely knit to society’s structure. It is also clear that self-governing bodies looked after administration, leaving to the central government very few functions concerning the daily life of the people. It is indeed a fine example of monarchies limited by umpteen small democratic organization, that made themselves responsible for the welfare of the masses. This limited

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<sup>5</sup> Maheshwari, *Local Self Government in India*, Oriental Longman Ltd. New Delhi, 1971, p-10

condition of Indian absolutism had been in operation from times much anterior to the evidence considered here. The third century B.C. traveler, Megasthenes says that in south India popular assemblies held in check the power of kings, which old Tamil literature also confirms.<sup>6</sup> Kautilya's *Arthashastra* too speaks of the existence of local government. In fact, Kautilya deals very systematically with the extent relationship between local and central governments and has even clearly spelt out the boundaries of the two administrative authorities. The province in Kautilya's system had four divisions or districts, each under a *sthanika*, a term even used in South Indian inscriptions. Groups of five or ten villages were placed under a royal agent called Gopa. The agent had to supervise the working of the rural administrative machinery under self-governing villages. The taxation levied by the central government on villages provided the link between the two<sup>7</sup>.

Abundant light is shed on the existence of some form or other of local government institutions in the famous inscription at 'Vaikuntha' Perumal temple in 'Uttarmallur'. "The inscription is assigned to the tenth century A.D. It speaks of a number of committees, each with a separate nomenclature to indicate roughly the work allotted to it. The inscription describes the mode of selection of committee members. The inscription also contains the requisite qualification a person needed to have to be

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<sup>6</sup> Radhakumund Mookerji, Local Government in Ancient India, Moti Lal Banarsi Das, Publishers and book sellers, Delhi, 1920, p-234

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p- 249



selected, as well as, the classes disqualified to be members. Finally, it has conditions too, for aspiring accountants”<sup>8</sup>.

The Cholas, Pallavas, and Pandyas, as also Vijaynagaram and several other kingdoms had a variety of local government institutions. Local administration was best developed under the Cholas. Rural localities under the Cholas were satisfactorily governed having all the paraphernalia to do so. Inscriptional literature almost down to the time of the Pallavas, always refer to such village-governance. The unit of administration was the village community, though more often it extends to a group of villages. Each unit of administration had an assembly of its own. The assembly was under the supervision of a divisional officer, who had almost sovereign authority over the entire rural administration he supervised. Village unions (*kurram*) constituted a district (*radu*) and several districts formed a division (*kottam* or *valanadu*). Also, several divisions helped make a province (*mandal* ). Each province was placed under a viceroy who was generally from the royal family. The Chola Empire was divided into six such provinces.

### **Medieval India**

However, as time passes, one notices a general tendency towards a weakening of popular control over local governance, and also an unchecked bureaucratic or autocratic ascendancy particularly after the Guptas. It is not easy to pinpoint either the time when or the reason why

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p-167

this state of affairs developed. There must be different causes at different times and in different localities which may have led to the decline of the village as a unit of administration.

Local administration during the Mughal period was bad. J.N. Sarkar says that the Mughals “were essentially an urban people in India, and their most distinctive achievements in the sphere of local government were in urban administration.” He further says that Mughals interfered very little with the ancient customs of village government incorporating the village into the administration as a unit for revenue and policing purposes only. The state dealt through the headman or *Muquddam*, who was also held responsible for the maintenance of law and order within the area of his authority. The judicial powers of the village council, the *panchayats* were considerably curtailed under the Mughals, otherwise local affairs remained unregulated from above and the village officers and servants were answerable primarily to the *panchayats*<sup>9</sup>.

### **British India**

Colonial rule was centrally managed, and therefore, local self-governance could hardly succeed. *panchayats* were consulted only when disputes were over land some old *panchayats* did retain vitality however *panchayat* as an institution became defunct and ceased to have practical importance by the second half of the nineteenth century. And this, despite Lord Lawrences

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<sup>9</sup> Parmatama.Saran, Rural Leadership in the context of India's Mordanization, 1978, pp-231-5

good intentions for in a resolution passed in August 1864 and named after Lawrence, it was stated that the people “of this country are perfectly capable of administering their own local affairs. The village communities ..... are the most abiding of Indian institutions. They maintained the framework of society while successive swarms of invaders swept over the country”<sup>10</sup>. The Resolution had no impact on the new District Committees, for they hardly touched village life. The new systems of rural local government was artificial. It had nothing similar to encounter’s old ways in local self-governance. The District Magistrate being the authority, the district became the unit of local government. It was only in Bengal and Madras that an attempt at a smaller unit of government was made. The Bengal Village *Chaukidari* Act of 1870 was a small step in the direction of local government. The act tried to revive the traditional *panchayat* System. The Act divided the countryside into unions, each union comprising about ten or twelve square miles. Each union or area was placed under a *panchayat*, which raised funds to pay for the village police. However, the so-called *panchayats* existed only in name. They were not representative at all and the village community thought them servants of the *sarkar*.. In Madras, village sanitary associations were setup; they had no legal status and could only levy ‘voluntary’ rates; they were kept up only through cajolery and bullying by the *Tahsildars*.

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<sup>10</sup> Hungh Tnker, The Foundation of Local Self Government in India, Pakistan And Burma, Lalawati Publishing House, Bombay, and Delhi, 1967, pp - 36

The primary objective of setting up of local government was to serve British interest rather than to promote self-governing bodies in the country. Post-Independence, the Taxation Enquiry Commission (1953-54) correctly pointed out: “It was the need for the association of Indians with administration (in order, for one thing, that taxes could be more readily imposed and collected) that prompted the early British Indian administration to embark on the introduction of local self-governing institutions in the country. The resolution of Lord Mayo (1870) on financial decentralization also visualized the development of local self government institutions, but this was subordinate to the need for tapping local resources of revenue and of effecting economy by decentralized administration”.<sup>11</sup>

However, Lord Ripon, who succeeded Lord Mayo as a Governor-General of India, resolved in 1882, to make local government self governing. He is rightly credited with the enunciation of a new philosophy of local government. To him, local government was predominantly ‘an instrument of political and popular education’. The resolution embodying this doctrine has been quite appreciated and Lord Ripon, its author remembered for the fresh thrust he gave to local self-government in India<sup>12</sup>.

Paragraph (5) of the resolution reads as: - It is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly designed as an instrument of political and popular

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<sup>11</sup> Report of the Taxation Inquiry Commission , 1953-54, Vol.iii , Delhi,1955, pp-336

<sup>12</sup> Quoted from Report of the Indian Statutory Commission pp.299-300

education”<sup>13</sup>. Further, in a private letter Lord Ripon wrote: ‘I am inclined to think that election by caste or occupation would in many cases be more in consonant with the feelings of the people’. It is well-known that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan put forward a cogent demand for the separate representation of Muslims, during the debate in the Imperial Legislative Council upon Ripon’s proposals<sup>14</sup>. The remarkable change in perception, by Ripon, was the establishment of a network of rural local bodies similar to municipal bodies and municipal boards.

However, the attempt to revive the traditional institution of village government was any how too late by the 1880’s, because, the village community had become powerless under the grip of local possess and bullies. The landlord’s agent, as well as, the local *daroga* and *bania* became the real powers in village life. Most provinces tacitly ignored the village in their new rural organization. While Lord Ripon laid great emphasis on the need to raise the super-structure of local government upon the ancient foundation of the village system, the so-called rural local government was, infact, imposed from above, and the village was the last place to feel its influence. This, despite prominent Indian leaders like S.N. Banerjee, G.K.Gokhale, Pheroze Shah Mehta, and *Raja* Peari Mohan Mukherji also advocating that a national self-government he established

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<sup>13</sup> Hungh Tnker, *The Foundation of Local Self Government in India, Pakistan And Burma*, Lalawati Publishing House, Bombay and Delhi, 1967, p-44

<sup>14</sup>Ibid, p-48

through the education of the Indian electorate and its representatives in the school of local politics and administration<sup>15</sup>.

The Liberal Government in Britain set up a Royal Commission on Decentralization in 1907<sup>16</sup>. It was headed by C .E. H. Hobhouse, the then under-secretary of state for India who later became a member of Asquith's cabinet. The Commission's mandate was to enquire into the financial and administrative relations of the government of India and the provincial government, as well as, of authorities subordinate to them, and to report whether by measure of decentralization or otherwise, the system of government might be simplified and improved. The Decentralization Commission presented its report in 1909<sup>17</sup>. It too focused on administrative improvement rather than channelize national political aspirations. The Commission did deal but only separately with village organization, rural bodies and municipal boards. It did emphasize that the foundation of any stable national edifice must be the village. Therefore, the people must be associated with the administration, but, after having heard what it considered a mass of evidence, the Commission tended to confirm that the ancient 'solidarity' and community-bonds had long disintegrated. It therefore, affirmed that though it was not possible to restore the ancient village system'. "The *panchayat*" should be re-established in a new format as a vehicle of a new type of village government, but once again, the new

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<sup>15</sup> Hung Tnker, The Foundation of Local Self Government in India, Pakistan And Burma, Lalawati Publishing House, Bombay and Delhi, 1967 p -58

<sup>16</sup>Ibid, p-64

<sup>17</sup>Ibid, p-85

system should be introduced 'gradually and cautiously'. The village headman should become *sarpanch*, the other members be informally elected. Their functions should include petty and criminal jurisdiction, village sanitation, the construction of minor public works, and the building and management of village schools..... . They should be supervised by district officers, not district boards and they should not be subject to the petty tyranny of petty officials.

These proposals did little more than echo the resolution of May 1882, and even such entirely conservative reforms were postponed for a further ten years later left lapsed, unused. Almost three decades later, another attempt was made in 1920 when the constitution of village authorities in five provinces was planned under the U.P. and C.P. Act of 1920. But, Bombay was the only province to adopt the *panchayat* form into 'embryo-municipalities' by means of Act IX of 1920. Different provinces formed different type of organizations. The U.P. Village *panchayat* Act of 1920 set up *panchayats* of five to seven persons, having authority over a 'circle'- usually the village and its environs. The Chairman and members could either be elected or nominated<sup>18</sup>. This was the last attempt to strengthen local bodies during British rule, because subsequent years were wholly devoted to the freedom struggle.

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<sup>18</sup> Hungh Tnker, The Foundation of Local Self Government in India, Pakistan And Burma, Lalawati Publishing House, Bombay and Delhi, 1967p-116

## **1.2Independent India**

India became an independent nation in 1947. This which heralded a new phase in the history of local governments. With the termination of alien rule, self-government was established at all levels - Central, Provincial and Local. For the first time, local self-governments got real support and did actually begin to function. Provincial governments created local self-government departments as full fledged ministries. In 1948, Provincial governments had their Ministers of Local self-Government meet to deliberate on the relevance and importance of local government in independent India. Jawaharlal Nehru who inaugurated the Conference and spoke on the vital role's of a local government calling it the very foundation of a true democracy. He said, "We have got rather into the habit of thinking of democracy at the top and not so much below. Democracy at the top may not be a success unless you built on this foundation from below"<sup>19</sup>.

The plea for greater autonomy to rural bodies also received conceptual strength from Mahatama Gandhi's doctrine of national development through autonomous rural organizations. These organizations, he desired, should model themselves on the *panchayat* system of ancient India. Illustrating his idea of *gram Swaraj*, Gandhiji said:-

My idea of Village *Swaraj* is that it is a complete republic,  
independent of its neighbors for its vital wants, and yet

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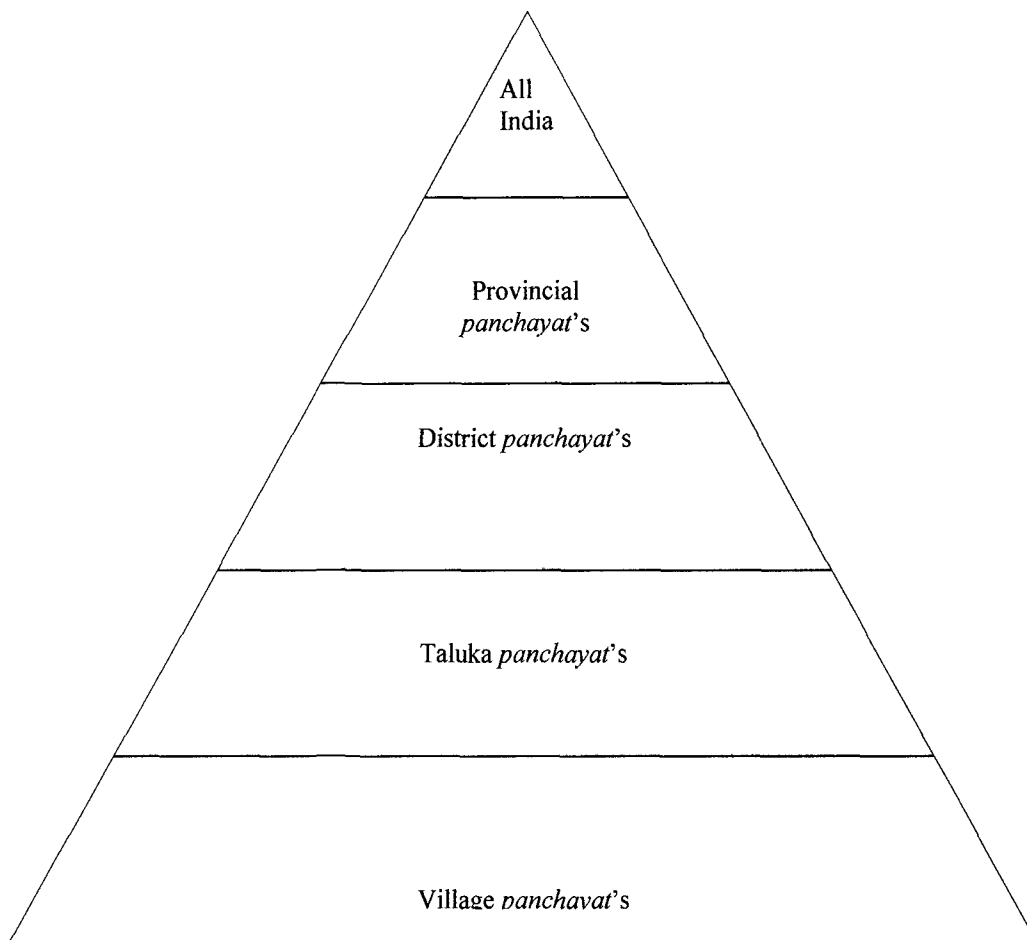
<sup>19</sup> Report of the Taxation Enquiry Commission 1953-54, Vol. iii, Manager of Publication, Delhi, 1955, p-336



independent of its neighbors for its vital wants, and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity. Thus, the village's first concern will be to grow its own food crops and cotton for its cloth. It should have a reserve for its cattle, recreation and playground for adult and children's ..... . The village will maintain a village theatre, school and public halls. It will have its own water works ensuring a clear water supply. This can be done through controlled wells or tanks. Education will be compulsory up to the final basic course. As far as possible every activity will be conducted on cooperative basis. There will be no caste, such as we have today with their graded untouchability. Nonviolence with its technique of satyagraha and non-co-operation will be the sanction of the village community. There will be a compulsory service of village guards who will be selected by rotation from the register maintained by the village. The government of the village will be conducted by the *panchayat* of five persons annually elected by the adult villagers, male and female, possessing minimum prescribed qualifications. They will have all the authority and jurisdiction required. Since there will be no system of punishment in the accepted sense, this *panchayat* will be the legislature, judiciary, and executive combined to operate for its year of office. Any village can become such a republic without much interference, even from the present government whose sole effective connection with the villages is the exaction of village revenue. I have not examined here the item of relations with the neighboring villages of the center, if any. My purpose is to present an outline of village government. Here there is perfect democracy based upon

individual freedom. The individual is the architect of his own government. The law of non-violence rules him and the government. He and his village are able to defy the might of a word. For the law governing every villager is that he will suffer death in the defence of his and his village's honour (Harijan 1942)<sup>20</sup>.

Gandhiji envisaged a five-tier system as follows:



The administrative system envisaged by Gandhiji was that of a pyramid. At the base of the pyramid as the diagram shows were the numerous village

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<sup>20</sup> Anil Dutta, *Panchayati Raj - Gandhian Perspective*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2002, p- //



communities of the country, the base itself, that is, of the country's democratic system. The higher *panchayats* shall tender advice, give expert guidance and information. They shall supervise and coordinate the activities of the village *panchayats* for increasing the efficiency of the administration and public service. But it would be the basic unit that would dictate to the center and not vice versa. In fact, the whole system would turn up side down; the village shall become the real and moving unit of the administration.

Mahatma Gandhi had imagined villages with self-governing systems as the seed and center upon which shall build-up and flower an independent Indian governments. Unfortunately, the makers of the Indian Constitution by passed a strong national sentiment, as well as, the Gandhian ideal of a system of governance from below, and instead of local self-governance, being mainstream, it was shelved into Part IV of the Constitution better known as Directive Principles of State Policy. Naturally there was country-wide criticism of this view point<sup>21</sup>.

Meanwhile, Uttar Pradesh did take revolutionary steps to effect changer in the rural authority structure in Independent India. Its government enacted the United Provinces *panchayati raj* Act in 1947. This Act created three bodies, i.e. a Gaon *Sabha*, a Gaon *panchayat* and a *panchayat* adalat. It provided for elected Presidents. This encouraged other States to follow suit, and by 1953, almost all the States had separate

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<sup>21</sup> Rajeshwar Dayal, *panchayati raj in India*, Metropolitan Book Co., Delhi, 1970, p-

departments for *panchayats*, whose functions were to administer State/s *panchayat Raj* law. Since the Uttar Pradesh *panchayat Raj* Act was the forerunner of the entire decentralization process that set in later, it would be pertinent to examine the provisions of the Act in some detail.

### **Salient features of the *Panchayati Raj* Act (1947)**

- The act sought to establish *panchayats* in all villages on a wide popular basis and gave them power to “levy certain taxes, manage their funds, make bye-laws, prepare their budgets and maintain and establish schools and dispensaries” in order to revitalize village corporate life and instill in the people the spirit of self-reliance and common endeavour to ameliorate their condition without depending too much on government agencies.
- Under the Act, a *gram sabha* was established in every village or a group of villages. The membership of the *gram sabha* extended to all persons registered as voters within the area of a *gram panchayat*.
- The *gram sabha* was required to meet twice every year, soon after the harvesting of the Kharif and Rabi crops.
- One-fifth of the total members of *gram sabha* constituted the quorum for its meeting. No quorum was necessary for the adjournment of a meeting.

### **Functions assigned to the *gram sabha***

1. Mobilizing voluntary labour and contributions for its community welfare programmes.
2. Identification of beneficiaries for the implementation of the development schemes pertaining to the village/villages.
3. Rendering assistance in the implementation of development schemes pertaining to its village /villages.

### **Size of *gram panchayats***

A *gram panchayat* was constituted for a village or group of villages to cover a population, as far as practicable, of one thousand people. For hill districts the necessary minimum population was not fixed.

The most aspect thing of the Act was that it granted adult suffrage to people. Three *panchayat* elections were held all over U.P. The first was held in 1949. Two more followed later the next after 1949 being in 1954-55 and the third in 1960-61. After the 1960-61 *panchayat* elections, U.P> had 72,333 functioning *gram sabhas*, and 989123 members. It has been claimed that the third *panchayat* election covered the entire population of Uttar Pradesh.<sup>22</sup>

### **All India Level**

The Planning Commission of India was set up through a Government of India Resolution on 15 March 1950 for preparing a blueprint for the socio-economic development of the country. The Planning Commission gave

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<sup>22</sup> Ranganath, *Changing Pattern of Rural Leadership in Uttar Pradesh*, Sindhu Publications, New Delhi, 1974, p-22.

considerable time and thought to the development of rural areas and prepared a Community Development Programme, which was made public in October 1952. This programme brought the higher levels of local-government into focus. *panchayati raj* was to use community development both as an objective as well as, as a programme. Exactly an year after, the National Extension Service Scheme was launched. This scheme was the continuation in of the Community Development {rogramme. It was some what less intensive in character.

Thus, during the period 1952-59, the *panchayats* were associated with the implementation of rural community programmes. Implementation of a programme of this nature, however, was not an easy proposition. The failure in implementation brought into focus the inadequacy of *panchayats* and the need for their re-structuring. A Committee was formed in mid- 1950s under the Chairmanship of Balwantray Gopaljee Mehta to examine and report on both Community Development Projects, as well as, National Extension Service. The purpose was to ensure economy and efficiency and efficiency, as also to reorganize the district administration so that such democratic bodies as *panchayats* could take over the entire general administration and development of a district or sub-district.

In 1957 the Balwantray Mehta Committee submitted quite a comprehensive report running into three volumes. The Committee came up with the following major findings:-

- The Community Development and National Extension Service Programmes had failed to evoke popular initiative. Local bodies at levels higher than the the *panchayat* had evinced but little enthusiasm in these Programmes; and
- Even *panchayats* were not involved in community development in any significant way.
- To the Committee, the remedy lay in de-centralization of responsibility and power, to levels below. It recommended, “Devolution of power to a body which, when created will have the entire charge of all development work with in its jurisdiction, the government reserving to itself the function of guidance, supervision and higher planning and where necessary, providing extra finance”<sup>23</sup>.

The Committee recommended that a set of institutional arrangements was required, not only to secure people’s participation, but alsom to make it significant and effective. And to ensure this, it envisaged a three-tiersystem of rural local government. It recommended a village

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<sup>23</sup> Report of the team for the study of Community Projects And National Extension Services, Vol-I, New Delhi , Committee on Planned Projects, 1957,p-07

*panchayat* at the village level, a *panchayat samiti* at the block level, and, a *Zila parishad* at the district level.

These recommendations on a *panchayati raj* scheme were approved by the National Development Council in January 1958. The Government accepted the fundamentals of the *panchayati raj* Scheme. It accepted a three-tier structure with definite powers to plan and implement development programmes, as well as, adequate financial resources of its own. However, it gave States full liberty to evolve their own patterns suitable to their local conditions

During the 1950s and early 1960s, most States had passed their respective *panchayat* Acts and several of them had also conducted elections to *panchayat* bodies. This enthusiasm however did not last long. After the initial euphoria, *panchayati raj* as an institution practically collapsed the country over, once again. Except for Maharashtra, Gujarat (till the 1960s), and West Bengal (till 1979s), *panchayat* elections were never regular in any State in the country. This apart, a couple of States like Bihar and Tamil Nadu, even found ingenious ways of postponing *panchayat* elections for nearly two decades.

This situation continued till late 1970's when the Morarji Desai Government took charge. Morarji Desai was in favour of de-centralization, and quite opposed to centralization. To centralize had been the practice in late 1960's and during the first half of the 1970's. However, a Committee



was set up in December 1977. It was headed by Ashoka Mehta, a member of the Planning Commission, to examine the reasons that had led to the decline of *panchayats*. It also had to suggest measures to revive them. The Ashoka Mehta Committee submitted its report in 1978. It did bring some new and significant ideas to the concept and practice of *panchayati raj*. It re-emphasized the need for involving the *panchayati raj* Institutions (PRIs) in local development and planning. It viewed their roles in terms of strengthening the planning process at the micro-level. The Committee asked for the Constitutional recognition of *panchayats* with a two-tier system of Rural Government. The report was discussed at the Conference of Chief Ministers convened during in May, 1979. The Chief Ministers agreed to delegate more financial and administrative powers to PRIs, so that the latter could function as effective instruments of development. The Conference did not accept the recommendations of the Committee regarding a Constitutional Amendment to delegate more powers from State to *panchayat* levels and said that State Legislatures would take appropriate action in the matter. The reluctance of the State governments to devolve power to the local bodies failed these recommendations, and therefore no tangible results followed. In fact, thereafter, the decline in the value and performance of PRIs was even more rapid, except in Maharashtra, Gujrat and West Bengal, as mentioned earlier.

Apart from these two landmark Committees (the Balwantray Mehta, and the Ashok Mehta Committees), there were a number of other Committees and Study Groups set up on de-centralization. An important working group on Block-level Planning had Prof. M.L. Dantwala, as its head. It was set up in November, 1977, and recommended a basic de-centralized planning function at the district level. A Working Group on District Planning headed by Dr. C.H. Hanumantha Rao, in 1982 came up with the following advice :

- For decentralized planning to make headway institutional mechanisms had to be more broad based with the active involvement of local representatives and endowed with a greater degree of autonomy in local decision making.
- *panchayati raj* Institutions and other local government institutions should play a crucial role in the district planning process.

Then there was a Committee to review the existing administrative arrangements for Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation. It was headed by G.V.K. Rao. It also inquired into decentralized planning and recommended that -

- Rural development should be the major component of district planning, though the district planning should encompass the total activity of the district.
- The district should be the basic unit for policy planning and programme implementation. The *Zila parishad* should, therefore,

assume the role of principal body for the management of all development programmes that could be handled at that level.

- Panchyati *Raj* institutions at the district level and below should be assigned an important role in respect of planning, implementation and monitoring of rural developments programmes.
- Some of the planning functions at the state level might have to be transferred to the district level for effective decentralized district planning.
- In order to give some flexibility and maneuverability, in planning and decision making, it was necessary to make some funds available to the District Planning Body; funds which were not tied to any departmental schemes and which might be used towards small schemes meant for the local priorities, need and aspirations of the local community.

It is quite clear that the period during the mid 1980's saw the emergence of an influential movement to revitalize the local self-government structure in India and link it with the agricultural and rural development process. There were two basic reasons for this. The first was the belief of the former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, that India is too large a country to be ruled from a central place. The responsibility of the Centre for many functions should lie at the local level. This would ensure accountability in the long run. Rajiv Gandhi believed that democratic policies would take care of any abuse at the local level and so insisted on the political and economic

enfranchisement of power groups (scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and women). Furthermore, the fact that India's initial agricultural planning system was somewhat linear in nature, emphasized ex-canal and tube-well irrigation and high yielding varieties and led to the favoured-region, favoured-crop strategy. The mid 1980's saw this strategy being itemed and the whole issue of widespread agriculture growth was raised in terms of an agro climatic plan. This in turn raised the item of local participation and the associated item of resource allocation and functioning of decentralized markets. The item raised was the manner in which special programmes for employment and rural development could be integrated with the agricultural development. Therefore, it could be said that a true attempt to de-centralize was indeed made in the mid-80s, and there was general consensus emerging towards devolution of powers and responsibilities at intermediate and local levels.

### **1.3 Review of the Working of Panchayat System before the 73<sup>rd</sup>**

#### **Constitution (Amendment) Act**

#### **Decentralization**

Historically, India is the only ancient civilization where democracy appears to have existed in some form of village *panchayats* since time immemorial. The framers of the Constitution were aware of this Indian heritage, the heritage, that is, of a village *panchayat* system. But when the Constitution of India was enacted, it envisaged only two levels of government – the Central and the States. The third level of government

was not accorded statutory protection. However, in keeping with the sentiments of Mahatma Gandhi, Article 40 was inserted in the non-justiciable part of Directive Principles of State Policy which made a solemn assertion to organize village *panchayats*.

A majority of members in the Constituent Assembly expressed themselves in favour of a strong centre and were against decentralization. The partition of India and resultant chaos had created a fear of disintegration in the minds of the framers of the Constitution who saw seeds of centrifugal forces if power was developed to local communities. Therefore, the resolve to promote village *panchayats* was shelved to the non-justiciable Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution. Dr. Ambedkar, Chairman of Drafting Committee regarded villages as ‘a sink of localism’, and therefore, in his opinion, not worthy of autonomy and self-rule. He said, “I hold that those Village republics have been a ruination of India.....what is a village but a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow-mindedness and communalism. I am glad that the Drafting constitution has discarded the village and adopted the individual as its unit”.<sup>24</sup>

However, there were some members who did not favour centralism and a strongly opposed it. Mr. K. Santhanam, demanded that the

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<sup>24</sup>Dr.R.S.Rajput & Prof. D.R.Meghe, *panchayati raj* in India-Democracy at Grass root, Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1984, pp 49 & 183

Constitution be amended so that provision of a village *panchayat* system be made in it. An amendment was moved to insert Article '30-A' which reads: "the State shall endeavour to promote the healthy development of *gram panchayats* with a view to ultimately constituting them as basic units of administration."<sup>25</sup> Santhanam put on record the intent of the Constituent Assembly in unambiguous terms. He said, "What is attempted to do here is to give a definite and unequivocal direction that the State shall take steps to organize *panchayats* and shall endow them to function as units of self-government. That the entire structure of self-government, of independence in this country should be based on organized village community life is the common factor of all the amendment tabled and that factor has been made the principal basis of this amendment. I hope it will meet with unanimous acceptance." When Gandhiji was apprised about the progress in the framing of the Constitution, he wanted know about the place of 'village' and the 'farmer' in it. 'For which country is the Constitution being framed?' Gandhi had asked. He shared his concern with people through 'Harijan', his paper. The Congress Party was agitated. A formal resolution was passed advising party members in the Assembly to ask for the necessary amendments. Accordingly, Article 40 was incorporated in the Constitution which read "The state shall take steps to organize village *panchayats* and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government".

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid,p 52

The Constitution of India has placed local government in the State List which empowers the State Legislatures to make laws with respect to local-self government or village administration. The Constitution nowhere defines 'local government'. Schedule Seven, List II (State List) item 5, says, "Local Government, that is to say, the Constitution and power of Municipal Corporation, improvement trusts, District Boards, Mining settlement authorities and other local authorities for the purpose of local self-government or village administration." Thus, it may be inferred that a *panchayat* role was in fact envisaged in the attempt to democracy to the village and empowering villagers.

S. K. Day, then Minister for Community Development, announced that

*panchayati raj* as we now visualize will, therefore, mean progressive increase in competence from the ground upwards and corresponding transfer of responsibilities from the center to the ground. If one wishes to climb higher, one must reduce the burden of weight on his shoulders. In order to function at the level, our center must be relieved of responsibilities, which should be discharged by the State Government, the State Government should be relieved, likewise, of responsibilities such as can be discharged by the *panchayati raj* Institutions along the line- the *Zila parishad*, Block *panchayats samiti*, *panchayat* associate voluntary institutions and the individual families. *panchayati raj* will, thus, grow to be a way of life and a new approach to government as against a unit of Government. It will bring

about a complete linkup of our people from *gram sabha* to Lok Sabha<sup>26</sup>.

Somewhat similar views were expressed by Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri,

Only the *panchayats* know the needs of villages and hence development of villages should be done only by the *panchayats*. Prosperous people in village should ensure that powers given to the *panchayats* are used in the interest of the poor. The *panchayats* are the foundations of democracy and if the foundation is based on correct leadership and social justice, there can be no danger to democracy in this country. Efforts should be made that the institutions established for Community Development and *panchayati raj*, after independence, are used for establishment of real democracy and improving economic and social conditions of the people.<sup>27</sup>

After independence, Community Development and National Extension Service Programmes were indeed launched, but because they were not attached with the people, they failed to deliver the desired results. People took it as a burden put on them by the government.

As S.C.Dube has observed

Although the idea of the Community Development Project was to work for the many sided development of the entire community, but a closer analysis of the agricultural extension work itself reveals that nearly 70 *per cent* of its

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<sup>26</sup> R.P.Joshi & G.S.Narwani, *panchayati raj* in India Emerging trends across the states, Rawat Publications, New Delhi, 2002, p-15

<sup>27</sup> R.P.Joshi & G.S.Narwani, *panchayati raj* in India Emerging trends across the states, Rawat Publications, New Delhi, 2002, p-14



benefits went to the elite group and to the more affluent and influential agriculturists. The gain to poor agriculturists was considerably smaller. Being suspicious of Government officials they did not seek help from the Project very often as this group had little influence in the village and outside and was in no position to offer any material help in the furtherance of project objectives, the officials largely ignored it. For the economic development of this group, as well as that of the artisans and agricultural laborers, no programmes were initiated by the project”.

A team, under the leadership of Balwantray Mehta tried to find out the cause for the failure of this programmes and observed: "Development cannot progress without responsibility and power. Community Development can be real only when the community understands its problems; realizes its responsibilities; exercise the necessary powers through its chosen representatives and maintains a constant and intelligent vigilance on local administration."

The team recommended that there should be an organisation at village level, to select the true beneficiaries and implement various government programmes and schemes. This organisation would act as the representative of all the villagers and should ensure the development of the village as well as participation of villagers. The *panchayat Raj*, a system of self-governance, was introduced in 1959, following the submission of Balwant Rai Mehta Committee Report of 1957. The States of *Rajasthan* and *Andhra Pradesh* were the first to adopt the system. By 1959, most

states had *panchayat* Acts and by the year 1960 *panchayati raj* institutions had been set up in all parts of the country.

However, the promising start towards decentralization in most states soon began to fade due to political pressure or lack of devolution of powers and resources to these bodies, stalling progress of the decentralization process in the country. In 1977 Ashok Mehta Committee was set up to review the working of *panchayats*. The committee found out that *panchayati raj* is the soul of democracy and therefore it should be empowered with more authority. The *panchayats* formed after 1977 are known as second generation *panchayats*. The process of decline of *panchayati raj* system started after the mid sixties, and continued for almost next two decades.

#### **1.4 Reviewing Local-Self Government**

The responses of State Governments to the implementation of *panchayat Raj* varied significantly and it is very difficult to generalise about this issue on the basis of their functioning only over a ten year span. The functioning of *panchayat Raj* presents a mixed scenario with enough evidence to show that it was successful in only a few States, while a failure in most. Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, West Bengal etc. were the some states where the functioning of *panchayat* bodies was somewhat successful. In all other States it was a completely failure.

Lack of political will, insufficiency of funds and infrastructure, and frequent and irregular elections, forced *panchayat* institutions to remain only advisory bodies. So did the non-cooperation from both the bureaucracy, as well as, other government departments. This last was a simple case of refusal to share power. As a result *panchayat* institutions just ceased to be vibrant democratically. Perhaps the surest stumbling block was the lack of political will on the part of State Governments to implement the provisions of *panchayat raj*. The Constitution gave State Governments the power to make laws to help run local governments and empower these governments in the spirit of true democracy. However, the requisite political will was not though. Unless there is a strong political will at the top level for strengthening and supporting the *panchayat* system at the grass-root level very little will materializes the village *panchayat* ethos must be revived. It must be given its due place in the system of governance. Till then no de-centralization can take place at local levels, State government until 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment, showed little inclination to implement the provision of democratic decentralization. Their reluctance to empower local governments was understandable, given the culture of centralisation in the country and unwillingness to share power with local tiers of government. Due to lack of "political will" to devolve and delegate *panchayat* institutions, states failed these institutions and prevented them from functioning as unstanments of good self

governance in the true sense. To add to this lack of political will was the resistance from the political class and socio-economic and political elite who viewed the *panchayats* as a serious threat to their interests and hegemony. And this resistance was strong local MLAs, MPs, and Ministers just would not allow the *panchayat* institutions to function as autonomous bodies as this would directly dilute the enormous influence and power wielded by them. Even those States which showed the political will to decentralize, and devolve did not go beyond entrusting the *panchayat* the responsibility for implementation of schemes and projects sponsored from the top that is by the Centre or the State. Therefore, the *panchayats*, instead of blossoming as institutions of self-governance were reduced were an implementing arms that State Governments controlled at will.

Lack of funds too had been a negative factor. It too aggravated non-performance and stagnation in *panchayat* bodies. The *panchayat* institutions to be successful had to be viable units. These units must be able to generate internal resources by using their own fiscal power commensurate with the functions assigned to them. Most local bodies depended upon grants and loans from State Governments. In many States, *panchayats* could not even impose tax. And in States, where they had the power to impose taxes, the tax base was meagre. State Governments were reluctant to share their fiscal powers with the local-self government institutions. According to an estimate based on available figures for 1982-

83, the total tax revenue realized by *panchayati raj* institutions constituted a mere 0.1 *per cent* of the tax revenues of all the States taken together. The tax and non-tax income (including grants) realized by the *panchayati raj* institutions constituted only 4 per cent of the tax and non-tax revenue of all States and 3 *per cent* of all- state tax and non-tax revenue and capital receipt. Plainly, therefore, the funds available with local governments were too meagre help them function truly as institutions of local self-government. Unless a separate tax-domain for local bodies is introduced by State Governments, the problem of lack of resources shall stay. E.M.S.Namboodiripad while commenting on *panchayati raj* Institution (PRI), once said, “The problem of administration and financial resources dealt should, in my view, be dealt with from a different angle. The four pillars Democracy mean an integration of the Center, State, District and *panchayats* as the essential parts of an organic whole – the administration of the country..... . Further it is, unreasonable to expect that after the Center and State tap all the financial resources which have been allotted to them and which are in fact collected from the very district and local areas where *panchayat Raj* Institutions are working, these latter should find their own resources independently of the Center and States”.<sup>28</sup>

The essence of democracy is elections. *panchayati raj* institutions were suspended and dissolved at will during the 70’s and 80’s. Elections to *panchayati raj* institutions have been woefully irregular and uncertain. The

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<sup>28</sup> Note from E.M.S.Namboodiripad in Recommendations of Ashok Mehta Committee on *panchayati raj* Institutions, 1978

best record of regular elections to *panchayati raj* institutions is of two State governments, Gujarat and Maharashtra, which have hold regular elections since the inception of *panchayati raj* system. The record of elections in other states has been dismal. In the absence of any compelling provision to reconstitute *panchayat* institutions within a reasonable period of time by democratic elections, suspended institutions have remained suspended for years and dissolved institutions have remained dissolved for a decade and more. Existing laws had given States such wide powers to abort the institutions of *panchayati raj*, and delay reconstituting them, that these institutions were bereft of their ability to stand on their own as representative forums of the people's will. Their existence has depended less on the mandate of the people than the whims of State Governments.

In fact genuine political will together with the necessary bureaucratic support, avoid such expressions are the two very essential supports needed for effective local self-government. It is the resistance and non-cooperation from bureaucracy, which, in fact, derailed decentralization in India. From the very beginning, the State bureaucracies had left no one in doubt that they were against the implementation of the decentralization programme and its goal of comprehensive changes in administrative structures, allocation of functions and powers, and control of resources. Unlike MPs and MLAs, who maintained a public posture of supporting *panchayati raj*, the bureaucracy was openly antagonistic about letting go of its fief. Many officials were even reluctant to take orders from the elected

leadership, many of whom , it was thought, were from the lower strata of society or had low educational attainments. The local level bureaucracy also did not relish superiority of the non-officials, uneducated and low caste people and also found fault with the system. The *panchayat* institutions were blamed for inefficiency, corruption and favouritism. This tantamounted to an absolute and utter rejection of the concept of a *panchayat* itself. The consequence was that the center effort to revitalize it became a non-starter.

Furthermore, the age-old caste system still persisted in its most humiliating form in India. The upper castes that had for long controlled the affairs of the village and the community, as also the rural economy, did not appreciate the changes that were being brought about by these decentralized democratic institutions. Therefore, from the very beginning, they created tension, and resorted to violence and killing, in order to resist the transformation. Elections to the local government bodies were the first to be attacked by these caste groups. From the very beginning, therefore, the rights of the lower castes people to participate in the democratic process and hold positions were itemed by the upper castes. There was violence and booth capturing. When that failed to foil elections to local bodies, a boycott was called. And, if, members of the lower caste were elected as president or vice-president despite this stiff resistance from the upper castes, the successful candidates were never permitted by the dominant castes to enter the new *panchayat* office. Thus even after duly

getting elected, the lower castes did not get the power and status they had democratically won. They were made to sit outside the *panchayat* offices, and that too, on the floor while the traditional village headmen sat on chairs. The States, in the north, in particular, which were prone to more caste conflicts, witnessed major human rights violations. The bureaucracy, strongly rooted in the upper castes and landowning classes, effectively safeguarded the interests of those castes and classes.

But then, the people too, at the ordinary level had their draw-backs, because of which they ill-fitted a decentralized power-situation. Thus, what was absent at the grass-root level was capacity, as well as, political education. The common people were not aware of what the *panchayat* system was about. They did not know that a market economy meant personal capacity. And unfortunately, this predicament extended over a span of twenty years and could only be rectified after that. The revolt was a failure. The *panchayat* system just could sustain itself. The meanings of *gram sabhas* were irregular, and if at all held on orders from above, much lacked quorum as notices were not issued on time. Moreover, the elected representatives too were just unable to understand the developmental needs of the area, and their financial implications. Implementation after that could hardly be talked about.

Thus, a number of factors in the past have conspired to undermine the *panchayati raj* structures and made them ineffective. It will be appropriate here to quote from Dr. Annie Besant's presidential speech at



the Calcutta Congress in 1917 Tie up a baby's arms and legs and then leave it to teach itself to walk If it does not succeed, blame the baby. The free baby will learn equilibrium through tumbles; the tied-up baby will become paralysed, and will never walk.<sup>29</sup>

### **1.5 Empowering Institution of Local Self-Government**

Indian *panchayat* institutions today have more than 3 million elected representatives in the form of president and members at its three levels across the country. This is perhaps the broadest democratically elected representative base which exists in any country of the world. This did not materialize all of the sudden devolution of powers for re-vitalizing *panchayat* institutions is the outcome of a series of serious discussions and deliberations which got momentum during the 1980's. The real credit for this thus goes to Late. Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi G.Palanithurie argues Rajiv Gandhi first listed the ills in the present system. He started arguing that the democratic structure at the top and the middle are strong because these two structures were positioned only through the conduct of elections promptly whereas the third tier is weak because elections are erratic. When the third level governance is weak, it will certainly affect the other two tiers. Without a strong structure at the grassroots democracy cannot flourish at the Central and State level". To underline the importance of

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<sup>29</sup> Iqbal Narain, Sushil Kumar, P.C.Mathur, *panchayati raj* Administration –Old controls New challenges, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, 1970, p.3

people's participation, Rajiv Gandhi quoted Nehru: It is not good enough to work for the people, the only way is to work with the people, and give them a sense of working for themselves; development work can be executed only if the people take the responsibility in their own hands. In 1985, when Rajiv Gandhi became Prime Minister, two Committees were constituted. The first under G.V.K. Rao, was appointed by the Planning Commission in 1985, to review the work on rural development and poverty alleviation. It recommended the revitalization of *Zila parishads*, with the appointment of a District Development Commissioner as Chief Executive of the *Zila parishad*. The second Committee, chaired by L.M. Singhvi, proposed the re-organization of *panchayati raj* Institutions (PRIs), and the setting up of effective village level committees. Following this report the Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State Relations, and a Parliamentary Consultative Committee, also recommended that there should be a significant strengthening of *panchayati raj* Institutions (PRIs). But it refused to give Constitutional status to *panchayati raj* Institutions.

These studies show that there was no dearth of ideas and expert opinion. What lacked was consistency in thought, and the political will, to implement the concept of decentralized planning and development in a multi-level framework. What further was absent was the determination to create *panchayati raj* Institutions in that frame work, that is, local self-government institutions that are democratic autonomous, financially strong, capable of formulating and implementing plans for their respective

areas, and thus provide a decentralised administration to the people. Accepting these recommendations the Central Government, headed by Rajiv Gandhi brought in the Constitution 64th Amendment Bill. It was passed by the Lok Sabha on the 16th August of 1989. This was a comprehensive Bill. It covered all important aspects of *panchayati raj* Institutions. Unfortunately, this Bill could not become the country's law as it was not approved by the Rajya Sabha. In 1990, the issues relating to strengthening of *panchayati raj* Institutions were considered afresh and in detail, once again. After that a comprehensive amendment was introduced in Parliament. It was the Seventy Second Constitutional Amendment Bill 1991. The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act 1992 came into effect on April 24, 1993. While introducing the Constitution (Seventy-Third) Amendment Bill in Parliament on December 1<sup>st</sup> 1992, the then Rural Development Minister G. Venkatswamy said

This casts a duty on the Centre as well as the States to establish and nourish the Village *panchayats* so as to make them effective, self-governing institutions

By introducing this Act the Government was fulfilling Mahatma Gandhi's dream of *gram Swaraj*.

The Constitution itself now had laid the legal foundation for the empowerment of people through its 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act, 1993. It gave *panchayati raj* Institutions Constitutional sanctity. State

Governments were, thereafter, under a constitutional obligation to transfer functions, finance and functionaries to village *panchayats*.

### **Basic Aims and Objectives of Decentralization of Power**

These objectives vary from country to country depending on the needs and conditions of the respective country. In India, these objectives are broader and deeper, for, the results desired were far reaching. It meant a revolutionary change in the attitude, behaviour, performance and the life-style of the people who lived in rural areas. The objectives are:

#### **(a) Deepening of Democracy**

Democracy, confined to a Parliament and State Legislatures only has to be broadened and extended till it merged with the last rung of society. Marginalised and deprived people have to be brought into the fold of democracy. More numbers from women and *dalits* have to be brought into the system of governance. This should be an affirmative action by which the marginalised and depressed are given an exclusive space through reservation of seats in the local bodies. It is a process by which democracy will be widened and deepened. Many a time the poor are ill-treated in the government offices by government officials. Local bodies will be able to bridge the gap between the people and the government.

#### **(b) Ensuring and Enlisting People's Participation**

People's participation is an essential part of development. Development initiatives are to come from the people. People are the initiators and the

government is the facilitator. To make the government a facilitator as different from the role of a provider, people have to take the initiative and accept new responsibilities. Their participation in development activities will make the government accountable. People have to assess their requirement and chalk out schemes and programmes according to their own needs. They should be people's programmes and the government has to participate in the programmes by enabling the people to carry out their programmes on their own.

### **(c) More Responsibilities to the People**

During the past fifty years responsibilities people and the community have been bereft of responsibility which instead became vested with government departments. This when, communities have enormous responsibilities to manage their affairs on their own and even have had their own management system. On the pretext of India being a nation-state, governments have expanded their departments. What is also questionable is that this expansion of the government has increased only its management cost not its efficiency in delivery. To deliver services worth one rupee the government takes six rupees as delivery charges. Moreover, the quality of the service is also poor. In this structural expansion of the government, people lose their orientation towards the responsibilities that they themselves have to be discharge. Ultimately, what the country is left with is a voters' orientation, and not a citizens' orientation. In order to make the people responsible citizens, more responsibilities have to be given to them.

Hence, development work should be allowed to be done with the involvement of the people.

#### **(d) Reduction of Government Structure**

Many countries today face a crisis because of the expansion of their government departments. The bulkiness of a government is a burden on society. It paves the way for the disintegration of a nation. The unwieldy expansion of government departments becomes a threat to the elected representatives. Moreover, people are terrorized by the government through its procedures, rules and regulations. The larger the size of the government, the lesser the contact with the people. Hence, there is a gap between the people and the government. In order to avoid the complications which a bulky government machinery creates it was felt that the structure of the government should be reduced to its minimum. This could be done only by giving the people more responsibilities through institutions created legitimately.

#### **(f) Administering Development and Social Justice**

It is a well-known fact that countries which are in the process of decentralizing powers, have different objectives. In India, it was a conscious decision of the central government that *panchayati raj* Institutions must work to administer development and social justice by evolving their own plan of action. Traditionally, *panchayati raj* has been looked at as an institution meant for providing services and facilities. Today, in a new

context, it is meant not only for services and facilities but also for growth with equity.

#### **(g) Planning from the below**

So far, the planning exercise was done at the Central Government level. The result was that large-scale demands of the people went unmet. In fifty two years of governance, centralised planning has tremendously helped the macro-economics of this country, but rural realities remain there being little change and still less development. People still live in sub-human living conditions in both rural as well as, urban areas. In order to provide basic facilities, and also make use of the facilities to help grow and bring economic activity to rural areas the planning exercise has to be done at the micro level. This exercise was undertaken many a times in independent India. The effort was to see whether planning institutions could be created at the bottom either at the block or at the district level. Today, this concept has gained currency and the planning exercise is attempted to be initiated at different levels starting from the *gram panchayat*.

#### **(h) Building the Capacity of the people**

It is important in decentralization of power that people should take more responsibilities and discharge them effectively and efficiently in order to deliver services of quality to the people. To perform the new responsibilities, the capacity of the people has to be increased. Till date, people have an attitude that the government would provide everything and

people have just to receive what the government provides. Today, role has been reversed. People have to manage their affairs on their own. The new system envisages a new task of building the capacity of people and their leaders. In a market driven economy, for every act, people require skill and efficiency. People with skills are to be up-dated and up-graded to match the requirement of the market. Against this background capacity-building assumes significance.

#### **(i) Establishing the Principle of Subsidiarity**

The whole exercise has to revolve around the principle of subsidiary. Activities that can be carried out at the lower level should be allowed to be carried out at that level, and also, activities that can not be carried out at that lowest level should be allowed to be carried out at the next higher level. In this manner activity itself must be exploited at different appropriate levels depending on the capacity of the people. It is thus principle that should be used to devolve power.

#### **Institutional Mechanism**

(a) **Gram Panchayat** The Government has been vested with the power to constitute a *gram panchayat* consists of a Sarpanch, who will be elected directly *reach panchayat* shall have six to twenty (varied from State to State) *Panches* or members, who shall be elected from wards in the *panchayat*. Each *panchayat* shall be divided into wards on the strength of its population. An *Upa-Sarpanch* shall be elected by the *Panches* from among themselves. Seats shall be reserved for schedule castes in



proportion to their population. One third of the seats to be filled by direct elections shall be reserved for women, including schedule caste women. The reservation shall be similar at all three tiers, and also for offices of *Sarpanch*, and Chairman and President of a *Zilla Parishad*.

The *gram sabha* consisting of all adults resident of a *panchayat* area has thus come to enjoy wide powers in matters of planning and implementation of its schemes. It is to meet twice a year and not only to consider the budget prepared by *gram panchayat*, but also the future development programmes and plans for the *Sabha* area. It shall also review the general progress of development plans, as well as, scrutinize the completed work and all activities of the *gram panchayat*.

The meetings of a *gram panchayat* are to be held at a public place. Every *gram panchayat* has to have a *gram Sachiv* who is appointed by the government to maintain accurate and up-to-date entries in accounts records. He must also maintain other properties of the *gram panchayat* under the supervision of *Sarpanch*. It is the duty of a *gram panchayat* within the funds at its disposal, to execute and administer within the *Sabha* area, the *Sabha's* directions. This would include agriculture, animal husbandry, fisheries, social and farm forestry, and also, rural housing, drinking water, poverty alleviation programmes, as well as, education, libraries, rural sanitation, public health and family welfare, women and child development. The *gram panchayat* has financial and taxation powers. It shall levy and collect taxes on items specified under the Act. It shall then

maintain all sums received in a fund called the *gram* Fund which shall be audited every year. The government has been vested with the power to dissolve a *panchayat*, and the director or deputy commissioner has the power to suspend the *Sarpanch*, *Up-Sarpanch* or a *Panch* if he is not discharging his responsibilities as defined in the Act.

### **Panchayat Samiti**

Similarly, a *panchayat samiti* is constituted at the Block level. It consists of directly elected members from territorial constituencies and the Sarpanches of the *gram panchayat* within the jurisdiction of *panchayat samiti* as also, members of Legislative Assemblies, representing constituencies which lie wholly or in part within the *panchayat samiti*. At the first meeting, after the constitution of the *panchayat samiti*, a Chairman and Vice Chairman are elected. The Block Development and *panchayat* Officer shall be the ex-officio Executive Officer of the *panchayat samiti*. Apart from various other functions, a *panchayat samiti* shall prepare the annual plan in respect of the schemes entrusted to it by the government of the Zilla Parishad. It shall consider and consolidate the annual plans of the *gram panchayats* in the Block and prepare the annual budget of the Block. The *panchayat samitis* will exercise supervision over the performance of all or any of the administrative functions of the *gram panchayats*. They are also vested with financial and taxation powers.

### **Zilla Parishad**

The Zilla Parishad shall consist of members directly elected from the wards in the districts, and shall include chairmen of all *panchayats samitis* within the districts as well as, the members of the House of the People (Legislative Assemblies) whose constituencies lie within the district or part thereof. The President and Vice Presidents of the Zilla Parishad shall be elected by and from among the elected members of Zilla Parishad. Reservation of seats in favour of scheduled castes in proportion to their population and one-third in favour also exist. On the constitution of the Zilla Parishad the President and a Vice President shall be elected by and from amongst its elected members. The President of the Zilla Parishad shall convene, preside and conduct meetings of the Zilla Parishad. He shall have access to the records of the Zilla Parishad and exercise administrative supervision over the chief executive officer for securing implementation of resolutions or decisions of the Zilla Parishad or of any committee. The term of office of President and Vice-President of the Zilla Parishad shall be five years unless sooner removed.

The Additional Deputy Commissioner is the ex-officio chief executive officer of the Zilla Parishad. A Zilla Parishad advises, supervises and coordinates the functions of the *panchayat samities* in the district. It coordinates and consolidates development plans prepared in respect of *panchayat samities*. It also advises governments on all matters relating to development activities and maintenance of services in the district, and, on

matters concerning the implementation of any statutory order especially referred to it by the government. A number of other specific powers have also been invested with the powers to dissolve itself. However, it has to be reconstituted within a period of six months. Apart from these features, a District Planning Committee is constituted to consolidate the plans prepared by the *gram panchayat*, *panchayat samities* and Zilla Parishad. It also prepares a draft development plan for the district.

### **1.6 Various Prominent Committees and their Recommendations.**

The Planning Commission of India was set up through a government of India Resolution on 15 March 1950, for preparing a blueprint for the socio-economic development of the country. The Planning Commission after two years announced a Community Development Programme in 1952. This programme brought the higher levels of local-government into focus. *panchayati raj* was integrally connected to community development, that is, into its objectives as well as, programmes. And exactly a year later, the National Extension Service scheme was launched in 1953. This scheme was a continuation of the Community Development Programme. It is a somewhat less intensive programme in character.

#### **(A) Balwantray Mehata Committee (1957)**

So, during the period from 1952-59, *panchayats* were associated with the implementation of the rural community programme. Implementation of a programme of this nature, however, was not an easy proposition. The

failure of community development program brought into focus inadequacy of *panchayats* and the need for their restructuring was widely felt. A Committee was formed in mid 1950s under the Chairmanship of Balwantray Gopaljee Mehta to examine and report on the Community Development Projects and National Extension Service with a view to ensure economy and efficiency and also to examine the reorganization of the district administration so that democratic bodies could take over the entire general administration and development of the district or the sub-district.

In 1957, the Balwantray Mehta Study Team submitted quite a comprehensive report running into three volumes. The committee came up with the following major findings:

- The Community Development and National Extension Service Programme had failed to evoke popular initiative. Local bodies at the level higher than the *panchayat* had evinced but little enthusiasm in the Community Development Programme; and,
- Even *panchayats* too were not involved in Community Development in any significant way.
- To the Committee, the remedy lay in de-centralization of responsibility and power, to levels below the State administration. It recommended “Devolution of power to a body which, when created will have the entire charge of all development work with in

its jurisdiction, the government reserving to it self the function of guidance, supervision and higher planning and where necessary, providing extra finance”<sup>30</sup>.

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The Committee recommended that a set of institutional arrangements was required, not only to secure people's participation, but also, to make it significant and effective. And secure this it envisaged a three-tier system of rural local government. It recommended a village *panchayat* at the village level, a *panchayat samiti* at the block level, and the *Zila parishad* at the district level.

These recommendation on a *panchayati raj* schedule were approved by the National Development Council in January 1958. The Government accepted the fundamentals of the *panchayati raj* Scheme. It accepted a three-tier structure with definite powers to plan and implement development programmes, as well as, adequate financial resources of its own .However, it gave the status full liberty to evolve their own patterns suitable to their local conditions

During the 1950s and early 1960s, most States had passed their respective *panchayat* Acts and several of them had also conducted elections to *panchayat* bodies. This enthusiasm however did not last long. After the initial euphoria, PRIs practically collapsed in the country over. Except for

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<sup>30</sup> Report of the team for the study of Community Projects And National Extension Services, Vol-I, New Delhi , Committee on Planned Projects, 1957, p-07

Maharashtra and Gujarat (since the 1960s) and later West-Bengal (since-1978), *panchayat* elections were never regular in any State in the country. Even a couple of States such as Bihar and Tamil Nadu found ingenious ways of postponing *panchayat* elections for nearly two decades.

#### **(b) K.Santhanam Committee (1963)**

The Mehta Committee was followed by the K.Santhanam Committee to examine the issue of *panchayati raj* Institution in Finances. It found that *panchayats* did not get enough funds for local development, and had remained financially weak for decades. They were superseded by decisions of district collectors. All though its recommendations covered a wide range of issues, the prominent among them were:

- The *panchayats* should have more items that can be brought under its tax-net.
- The grants from the State level should be untied.
- A *panchayati raj* Finance Corporation should be set up which would look into the financial resources of *panchayati raj* Institutions at all three levels, providing loans and financial assistance to these local institutions.

#### **(c) Ashok Mehta Committee (1978)**

This situation of uncertainty continued till the late '70's when Morarji Desai Government took charge. The Janata party government under

Morarji Desai was in favour of de-centralization and was opposed to the centralization seen in the late 1960's and the first half of 1970's. The government set up a Committee on December 1977, headed by Ashok Mehta, a member of the Planning Commission, to examine the reasons that had led to the decline of *panchayats* and suggest measures to revive them. The Ashok Mehta Committee submitted its report in Aug.1978. The Committee brought some new and significant ideas to the concepts and practice of *panchayati raj*. It re-emphasized the need for involving the *panchayati raj* Institutions (PRIs) in local development and planning and viewed their roles in terms of strengthening the planning process at the micro-level. The Committee asked for the Constitutional recognition of *panchayats* with the two-tier system of Rural Government. The report was discussed at the Conference of Chief Ministers on May 19-20, 1979. The Chief Ministers agreed to delegate more financial and administrative powers to PRIs, so that the latter could function as effective instruments of development. The Conference did not accept the recommendations of the Committee regarding a Constitutional amendment for delegating more powers from States to *panchayats* and said that State Legislatures would take appropriate action in the matter. It was this reluctance of State Governments to devolve power to the local bodies that even failed Ashok Mehta Committee recommendations and no tangible results were achieved. The decline of PRIs in most States was even more rapid, except in Maharashtra, Gujrat and West Bengal as mentioned earlier.



**(d) Dr.C.H.Hanumanta Rao Committee (1982)**

The other Working Group on District Planning headed by Dr. C.H. Hanumantha Rao, Member of Planning Commission studied various aspects of de-centralized planning at district and block levels in 1982 and mainly recommend that :-

- For decentralized planning to make headway institutional mechanisms had to be more broad based with the active involvement of local representatives and endowed with a greater degree of autonomy in local decision making.
- *panchayati raj* Institutions and other local government institutions should play a crucial role in the district planning process.

**(e) G.V.K. Rao Committee (1985)**

Then there was a Committee to review the existing administrative arrangements for Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation. It was headed by G.V.K. Rao. It also inquired for decentralized planning and recommended that -

- Rural development should be the major component of district planning, though the district planning should encompass the total activity of the district.
- The district should be the basic unit for policy planning and programme implementation. The *Zila parishad* should, therefore,

became the principal body for the management of all development programmes that could be handled at that level.

- *Panchyati Raj* institutions at the district level and below should be assigned an important role in respect of planning, implementation and monitoring of rural developments programmes.
- Some of the planning functions at the state level might have to be transferred to the district level for effective decentralized district planning.
- In order to give some leeway and maneuverability, in planning and decision making, it was necessary to make some funds available to the District Planning Body, funds which were not tied to any departmental schemes and which might be used towards small schemes meant for the local priorities, need and aspirations of the local community.

#### **(f) Singhvi Committee (1986)**

The Rao Committee was followed by the L.M.Singhvi Committee. It was constituted by the Government of India, Department of Rural Development in 1986, and made following recommendations.

- It recommended the constitution of a *gram sabha* for encouraging democracy at the grassroots level.

- It recommend that the *panchayati raj* Institutions have to be viewed as institutions of self-government which would naturally facilitate the participation of the people in the process of planning and development, as a part of the concept of self-government.
- The Committee was of the view that the *panchayati raj* should be directed to achieve community and social mobilization, transcending the barriers of caste, religion, sex and disparities of wealth and surmounting social disabilities and disadvantages.
- The Committee envisaged and recommended that the *panchayati raj* bodies should be constitutionally recognized.

### **1.7 Salient Feature of Constitutional 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment Act, 1993**

The Constitutional 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment Act, 1993 is basic in its framework, and provides guidelines. This Amendment purporets not only to guide and but also mandate to States to organize grassroot democracy by constituting *panchayat Raj* at grassroot level. They would bring out development and meet social justice. Infact, the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment has revolutionized the system of governance and has added a new chapter to the fabric of our nation. The provisions of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment are mandatory in nature, and must be followed and implemented by State Governments. The salient features of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment are summarized below :-

### **(1) Constitutional Sanctity of *Panchayat Raj* System**

The 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment provides Constitutional sanctity to the new *Panchayati Raj* system which as an institution of governance at grassroot level, seeks to inculcate leadership in the rural folk. The Constitution has placed *Panchayati Raj* at the lowest level in the hierarchy of governance. Today, the *Panchayati Raj* System, therefore, enjoys Constitutional status. It has legal existence, financial autonomy, and conducts its own election. The Constitution gives it the status of a permanent institution with defined role and responsibilities which are to be discharged in a legal framework created for this purpose.

### **(2) A Three-tier Structure: A New Chapter in Indian Federalism**

Our Constitution provides a federal structure of governance with a strong unitary tendency. However, after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, a new chapter has been added in the federal structure of our nation. In federal structure, power is divided between the Central and Provincial governments, and according to their powers share resources. But, after this Amendment, now there is a third legal institution, given the name of *Panchayat Raj*. It is an institution of governance at grassroot level, with clear cut goals and categorically distinct political and financially and with administrative powers to administer development and social justice. This concept and implementation gives new meaning to the three tier which explains the relationship among the three institutions, they Centre, the State and the Local. The new system at the local level too has a three-tier structure

namely the gram, block and district *panchayats*, which trifurcates the administration into these three units, namely the gram, block and district. All three units are independent in some of the spheres and inter dependent in certain spheres. *gram panchayats* function at the lowest level, and Block *panchayats* function at the Block level. while District *panchayats* function at the district level . As far as roles and responsibilities, powers and duties of every tier is concerned they too are clearly defined and demarcated, and, they have to function in accordance with the powers conferred upon every tier under the relevant law. The village and block *panchayats* have to carry out the developmental activities while district *panchayats* have only supervisory and monitoring roles.

### **(3) Empowerment of People and Rural Leadership**

Prior to the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, people at the grassroot level only constituted a vote bank. All developmental programmes were in the hands of the bureaucracy supervised by representatives at State or Centre level. People at the grassroot had almost no say in these programmes. People did elect representatives to the Parliament and State legislatures, yet the entire decision-making was in the hands of these representatives only, be they in Parliament or State Legislatures, far and away from voters who sent them there. The people did exercise their right to vote and elect representatives, but had no say anywhere, particularly in rural areas. The 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment thankfully has empowered them as much as to give their assemblies at the village level constitutional recognition. Earlier, even after fifty years of

independence the common people were deprived of basic facilities and amenities. The 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment introduced a revolutionary change today, there is direct participation of even common people in their own governance. *gram sabha* is the basic body under the Constitutional Amendment, enabling the people not only to participate, but also plan and administer developmental activities. Panchayat Raj is an institution of the people, by the people, and for the people. This institutional mechanism of *gram sabha*, Block Panchayat and Zila parishad has nurtured democratic principles in the community. *panchayat Raj* system is today the defining concept of the “Empowerment of People”. Today, it is a people’s democracy, as the people are participating in meetings, discussions, community and developmental programmes, irrespective of their caste, creed, community or sex.

#### **(4) Constitution’s 11<sup>th</sup> Schedule and Enlistment of 29 Subjects**

The 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment has formulated a list of 29 subjects. The list is suggestive in nature and is not exhaustive. More subjects can be added to this list if State Governments want to give more powers to local bodies. At present, there are three lists in the Constitution, namely the Union List, the State List and Concurrent List. However, a Fourth List in the name of *panchayat* List needs to be incorporated also. That would be more meaningful. As of now the Constitution provides for Union Subjects, State Subjects, and *panchayat* Subjects. These total 29 State Governments

are empowered through legislation, allocate the 29 subjects to each tier of a *panchayat*. The New *panchayati* System has been made meaningful only through the 11<sup>th</sup> Schedule conferring 29 subjects on local bodies. The 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment empowers State governments to assign duties and responsibilities to each tier of a *panchayat* by allocating the appropriate subject.

#### **(5) Reservation of Seats for Women and Dalits**

Reservation of seats for women and *dalits* in all the three institutions of a local body ushers in a new era of governance. The reason for such reservation is that in the absence of basic facilities, the worst sufferers are women and *dalits*. The sufferings of the women and *dalits* are not felt by the policy makers since they are mostly men, and, from the upper castes. By giving the opportunity to take decision to women and *dalits*, the Constitution has now included them too in the process of decision- making. In any case, too, can, have and need to govern was usurped by men. They had, in fact, been denied their legitimate share in the governance, and in all fairness their right to do so should long have been recognized. In fact, there was no need ever to have made an issue of it. History has, the world over, irrespective of region or religion, had abundant examples of women rulers, as also, of women in governance. Anyhow, inviting and recognizing the right to women and *dalits* to governing bodies, and in fact, making exclusive reservation of seats for them has helped deepen democracy. One third of seats in a *panchayat* are now reserved for women. The move has

inserted a nation-wide debate on the subject as well as, on the urgent necessity of reserving seats for women in both State Legislatures, as also, in Parliament. Reservation for *dalits* in State Legislatures and Parliament is not as difficult a proposition today, for, *dalits* are today members of state legislatures, as also, of Parliament. Perceptions about them now is from a political party's perspectives and its desire and ability to win an election and enjoy the fruits of political power. What the *dalits*, in fact need was reservation in a *panchayat* and its local bodies, to help democracy emerge and consolidate itself at the grass-root level. Caste does play a forbidding role at the grass-roots. Therefore, responsibility to administer social justice should be helped to devolve down to the so-called lowest level in society. It is here that the *panchayat* shall be of tremendous assistance. It is indeed very fortunate that the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment of the Constitution has made it actually possible by recognizing the principle of proportionate to local self-government elected bodies both for women, as well as *dalits*, declaring seats for both categories as reserved on this principle. Women, as also the marginalized sections of society, down to the grass-root well shall now get adequate representation. Indeed, the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment of the Constitution of India has been very revolutionary.



#### **(6) Setting up of a Financial Commission and an Election Commission**

Permanent Finance, and an Election Commission have also been set up by this very significant 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment Act. It has remained a well-established fact is that *panchayats* did not because just could not function properly in the past. They had no financial powers, and for finances had to depend on State Governments. In order to overcome this constraint, the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment has incorporated a provision under which a Finance Commission has to be constituted in every State to suggest modalities as to how to share resources between local bodies and a state government, and moreover, how was a local body finances to be stabilised. This provision in the Amendment, has ensured regular financial flow to local bodies. Along with a Finance Commission, an independent Election Commission was also been created. Today, it functions in all the States and helps elect representatives both to State Legislatures and Parliament, as well as to *panchayats*. Representatives to all the three tiers have to be elected. These requires a huge set-up and a massive machinery. The earmarked function of a State Election Commission is to conduct election to the State's local bodies.

#### **(7) Setting up of a Planning Committee at the District Level :**

A District Planning Committee is also stipulated in order to consolidate the plans prepared by a *gram panchayat*, *panchayat* samity and the Zilla Parishad. It also prepares a draft development plan for the district. The

Planning Commission at the Centre, and in the States are not Constitutional entities. However, a District Planning Committee is a Constitutional creation. This District Planning Committee has a specific purpose, for it drafts and can alter the planning process. In the new dispensation, planning formulation has to be initiated from below. For the development of the whole district, the Planning Committee has to prepare a development plan.

### **Recent Initiatives Taken by the Government of Uttar Pradesh for**

#### **Empowerment of *Panchayat Raj* Institutions**

With a view to bring about a sustained process of decentralisation and people's participation, the State Government in Uttar Pradesh has devolved a large number of functions and powers on a *panchayat*.

#### **New Responsibilities Assigned to *Gram Panchayats*:**

Thus, the functions and functionaries of eleven departments, i.e., Education (primary, upper primary and non-formal education centers), State Tube Wells, Hand- Pumps; Youth Welfare; Medical and Health; Women and Child Development; Animal Husbandry; Fair Price Shops; Agriculture; Rural Development; and, *panchayats* now stand transferred to local self-government bodies.

- Identification of beneficiaries; disbursement of pensions and scholarships; and funds for works; maintenance of assets; and for payment of salaries and honorarium to teachers and *gram panchayat* Vikas Adhikaris.

- Four percent of the State's total tax revenue stands directly transferred to *gram panchayats*. This has resulted in an unprecedented increase in funds from a mere *Rs.20 crore in 1996-97, to as much as Rs.328 crore in 1999-2000*. Apart from this, funds out of Centre's Rural Development Schemes and Tenth Finance Commission Award have also been transferred directly to *gram panchayats*.
- *gram panchayats* are now empowered to collect irrigation tax from State Tubewells and impose surcharge on land-revenue.
- For transparency in functioning, the villagers are entitled to obtain a copy of any document of a *gram panchayats* at only a nominal fee.
- It is now mandatory for *gram panchayats* to hold at a minimum at least one meeting every month.
- In case of women *pradhans*, husbands/male relatives are not allowed to attend this meeting by proxy.
- The entire work entrusted to *gram panchayats* is to be done through Six Committees, namely a Planning and Development Committee, an Education Committee, a Construction Work Committee, a Health and Welfare Committee, an Administrative Committee and, a Water Management Committee.

### **Responsibilities Handed Over to Kshetra Panchayats:**

- Functions and functionaries pertaining to Rural Development, Primary Health Centres, Veterinary Hospitals, Seeds Stores and Marketing Godowns are now under *kshetraya panchayats*.
- *Kshetra panchayats* shall be entitled to ten *per cent* share in the amount devolved to local bodies out of a State's tax receipts.
- Six Subject Committees, namely, a Planning and Development Committee, a Education Committee, a Construction Work Committee, a Health and Welfare Committee, an Administrative Committee, and, a Water Management Committee will execute all the plans and programmes of a *kshetra panchayat*.

### **Empowerment of Zilla panchayats:**

- A *Zilla panchayat* Chief instead of a District Magistrate will now be the Chairman of the District Rural Development Agency (DRDA)
- The governing body of a DRDA will now comprise of Chairpersons of the Six Standing Committees of *Zilla panchayat* and fifty *per cent* of the *Pramukhs*.
- A separate officer, designated as Chief Officer, replace the District Magistrate to oversee the development work implemented by a DRDA/*Zilla panchayat*.

## **1.8 Review Of Literature**

**A.R.Desai, Rural Sociology “A Study of panchayats” – Program**

**Evaluation Organization’s, Planning Commission, (May 1958)**

Explaining his point of view which is same as our findings in case of age, caste etc. A.R.Desai, concludes that, the majority of the *panchayat* members are above 40 years in age(59.6 per cent ), while 39 percent are in the 25 to 40 age group, and only one percent are below 25 years of age.

Leadership and decision-making rest mainly with the older age0group, while literate members are more in number then illiterates. In case of cast ,the majority of members come from high castes or rather from castes which are the principal land-owning and cultivating castes of the area .Further the percentage is very thin if the reservation for lower caste is not available.

Furthermore, village body meetings do not evoke any enthusiasm and are generally not effective.

**Carl C.Tylor and Others, “Indias Roots of Democracy” (1965)**

Commenting on the Community Development Programme the authors say that the district unit of administration spanned so large a numbers villages that it could not effectively relate itself to their *panchayats*; and as the development programme had increased in magnitude, the administrative officials, particularly above the district had further centralized

administration by taking over many functions which normally would have gone through district administration.

Oscar Lewis “Village Life in Northern India” while studying the village Rampura and Delhi concludes that leadership depends upon the factors of wealth, family reputation, age, and genealogy, personality traits, state of retirement, education, connections and influence, and finally, numerical strength of the family and its lineage.

He further says that, “members, who are to be regarded as government servants, are generally younger men with some education, in contrast with the emphasis on age and seniority in the traditional *panchayats*. Decisions in the statutory *panchayats* are arrived at by voting rather than through the traditional method of reaching a unanimous verdict through discussion and majority pressures.

He further highlights that in 1949 when *panchayat* sittings were first held there were forty meetings with a full quorum, and in 1950, there were thirty-seven meetings. In 1951 again thirty-seven; but in 1952, only twenty-two sessions were held.

Further, the caste and village *panchayat* are so dominating village life that on important occasions, ceremonies like marriage, death, and birth *panchayat* permission was necessary and if *panchayat* did not permits no one dared to participate.

However, these trends are being altered after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment findings of field data abundantly establish.

Ranganath, “Changing Patters of Rural Leadership in Uttar Pradesh”

(1974)

After surveying some village *panchayat* of Varanasi and Gonda, the author concludes that upper and backward castes dominate the community development leadership. The argument advanced is that the backward castes, being numerically strong, are striving hard to obtain power and adequate representation, where as, the upper castes being traditionally strong tend to occupy positions of power. In contrast to this, the scheduled caste are unfortunately much below their numerical strength and the same is somewhat true in case of Muslims.

He further found that lower income group has annexed the maximum representation, followed by the lower middle income group. The minimum number of representatives from the upper middle income group. This somewhat contrasts the finding of Oscar Lewis who found wealth was more important than *panchayats* leaders. The present thesis, after its field survey records that schedule castes and scheduled tribe are capturing more than the seats reserved for them, and their in power is increasing.

Parmatma Saran, “Rural Leadership in the Context of India’s  
Modernization” (1978)

Saran argues that village women in India still have only traditional roles, and as a result very few are at leadership level. Out of 608, only 27, i.e., 4.44 per cent are at leadership positions.

Furthermore, he found that the majority of leaders are young, but elders still have a fair representation. Caste had its representation from intermediate castes, though representation from upper and lower castes is approximately equal. Religion was mostly represented by Hindus. 78.5 percent respondents have some formal education. This is striking, in view of the fact, that the literacy rate in India was not more than 30 per cent. Saran's findings also show that land-ownership is a significant factor of leadership in village-life. Income-wise, Saran found nearly 22.8 per cent poor (income less than 1000 per annum), and, 33 percent are at middle level (income less than 2499 per annum).

Political affiliation is again very low at village-level. 81 per cent respondent did not have any affiliation with political parties. Evaluating bureaucratic work, Saran found that 42 per cent respondents felt that there was lack of co-operation between local leaders and the government staff. Political affiliation still remains very low in village politics as the present thesis also found, for, the Lodha block 63.69 per cent leaders still did not have political affiliation, and, also that bureaucracy too is still not very co-operative.

**Shiv Rattan Mehta, "In Emergence Pattern of Rural Leadership" (1972)**

Mehta finds 81.8 per cent leaders of 40 years of age or above. Therefore, a majority of them are of a higher age group. Again, 75.75 per cent leaders belong to the upper caste groups. The highest numbers of leaders are



cultivators (i.e., 60.6 per cent) and belong to the medium income-group and have a high literacy rate.

*Prodipto Roy, "Characteristics of Emergent Leaders", using Maurice Sills' data from North Indian Village, (1967)*

Roy analyzed the characteristics of emergent leaders, and arrived at the following conclusions:

- Individuals, with high income and a high level of living, are likely to become leaders in the new village organization
- People with more education will participate more in a village's social organizations.
- Members of large families are likely to emerge as leaders.
- Age and castes do not seem to determine who will the future leaders.
- New leaders seem to have a higher level of contact with extension agencies.
- New leaders are generally a little more secular oriented than most village people, but are not extremely secular.

*H.S.Dhillon , "Study of Leadership and Groups in a South Indian Village" (1965)*

Dhillon concludes that caste, reputation and size of family, as also, elaborate performance of ritualistic ceremonies, ownership of land, age,

and availability of leisure time and contacts outside the village, are chief factors that facilitate leadership.

**The National Institute of Community Development (1967)**

Sen & Roy, 1967, while conducting a Nation wide survey, which covers, 365 villages, and interviewed 7224 persons, including 1414 leaders. The study revealed that 54.3 per cent leaders belonged to high castes – be they brahmins or high caste non-brahmins because they had better economic status and a higher level of education. This scenario of course, is changing after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment. We find that, now ... belong to high castes, and, the lower class, as well as, caste has begun playing a fair role in village politics.

**M.Francis Abraham, “Dynamics of Leadership in Village India”(1974)**

This author concludes that “traditionally, ownership of considerable amount of arable land and the ritual superiority of ones own caste are considered to be the major determinants of leadership in village India. Those who are economically better off are most likely to be nominated as leaders further, no relationship is found between community leadership and family income so economic status has nothing to do with the emergence of leadership in modern India’s village. Our data also shows some what similar kind of findings.

Yogender Singh, “The Changing Power Structure of Village  
Community-A Case Study of Six Villages in Eastern U.P.”, *Rural  
Sociology in India*, Ed. By A.R.Desi(1958)

Prof. Yogender Singh while, summarizing some of the salient trends of the present power dynamics in rural communities concludes as follows :

- The upper castes (*Rajputs*, Brahmins, Bhumihars), and classes (ex-land- lords and money-lenders), continue to hold power in villages. The only difference from village to village may be that in one, domination may be direct, while in others, it may be indirect and latent.
- Increased competitions for power has been energized the lower caste and class groups, rather than the upper class groups.
- It is not the individual, but a household or an allied-group of households or faction that still remains the unit of social, cultural and political participation in villages.
- The village polity still continues to be deeply affected and determined by the traditional pattern of economic deprivations and privileges of a village’s various castes and classes.

M.N.Srinivas ,“Social Change in Modern India” (1984)

M.N. Srinivas suggests that modernizing villages has passed power into the hands of the numerically large, land-owning peasant-castes. This is due to western education, positions in the administration, as also urban sources of

income. Each factor significantly contributes to the prestige and power of particular caste-group in a village. The introduction of adult franchise and *panchayati raj*, since Independence has given a new sense of self-respect and power to “lower” castes. The long-term implications of these changes are probably even more important. These possible changes will have to be visualized on the basis emerging data in order to determine which way the balance of power shall shift.

Change is, in effect a really happening phenomenon, and has somewhat accelerated after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment. The strange hold of tradition is breaking. Today, the real power of adult franchise has been given to villagers and, it has actually been implemented and is being practiced at grass-root level. People are themselves becoming conscious about what really is required to acquire political power. After the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment the emphasis is now being given the bottom-up perception, that is, first the *panchayat*, then the State Legislature, and after that, at the top, as usual the country's Parliament. Governance now works with in bottom as base and then works upwards.

**Manoj Rai, “The State of panchayats-A Participatory Perspective”(2002)**

In this study the main point which get emphasis is that “women are posed to work with in the four walls of the house. And this is mainly due to the fact that a continuous pressure from men in one way or the other, women

confined themselves and think that it is her destiny to live in this way because women's are incapable of doing any work which will bound them to go outside their home" And if somehow she is elected as *Pradhan* then she is supposed to work as a puppet in the hands of the male members of the family". The main reason behind this is the illiteracy of the women and lack of knowledge of outside world.

"Etah District of western Uttar Pradesh a woman *Pradhan* has not stepped out of her home for a single meeting since 1995. To curb out of such situations the Uttar Pradesh Government had made an order by which husband of woman *pradhans* are not allowed to enter their wives' office (except for urgent work), take part in meetings of the village *panchayat*, accept memorandum from villagers or travel in official vehicles". This order was passed after a study conducted by the Institution of Development Studies in Lucknow. It showed that 40 *per cent* of the total of 20,000 women *gram pradhans* in the State were illiterate, and, had hardly stepped out of their homes.

02/06/2019

## **Chapter – II**

### **Methodology**

The methodology adopted in exploring the issues mentioned above, as well as, in the Introduction, is as census based Schedule Survey. Lodha Block in the District of Aligarh was chosen as the universe of the study. Lodha Block in the District of Aligarh (Uttar Pradesh) occupies an important position in the heart of Northern part of the country. Block-wise, Aligarh District has 12 blocks, including Lodha. It covers an area of 280.45 sq.km, which forms 5.60 per cent of the district area. Its block office is situated on Khair Road, near Khereshwar temple, which is 7 kilometres from the district headquarter.

The total number of *gram panchayats* under this block is 92 covering 130 villages. These villages are located in every direction of the district. In the east it covers Quwarsi Road, while in the west part it covers Khair Road. Towards the north, the block runs along the Agra, Mathura and Gonda Roads, whereas in south it covers G.T.Road.

According to the 1991 Census, the total population of the Lodha block was 1,52,651, which touched 2,00,642 in 2001, an increase of 23.91 per cent. The scheduled caste population was 52,450, according to the 2001 Census, which was 26.14 per cent of the total population of the block.

The caste and religious composition of the block makes it relatively unique. Its caste composition, literacy level, and gender inequities are the

basic notions that affect the functioning of its *panchayats*. Its literacy and poor health facilities are evident indicators. This apart, geographical area of the block is scattered and almost covers every corner of the district. Thus, while concentrating just on the Lodha block one could very well speculate the overall picture of the district Aligarh. Lodha block, therefore, was made the subject of study thus research and its surveys. In any case, the researcher had spent three long and very crucial years amongst the block community while working as Assistant Project Coordinator in a C.B.D. Project. The familiarity with the area and people was therefore of tremendous help.

Altogether the study and the conclusions drawn from it are based on the responses of 259 *pradhans*, past and present. Besides focusing on the present elected *pradhans* in Lodha block, the study also includes responses from all *pradhans* elected during the elections held in 1995 and 2000. In order to trace the *trajectory* of the functioning and empowerment of the *panchayat* system, it was essential to have responses from the previous *pradhans* too. The first *panchayat* election, after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment were held in 1995. By choosing *pradhans* as respondent from 1995 onwards, the study could comparatively look at the position of the *panchayat* from the time of the enactment of 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment till date.

The Schedule designed for the study was comprehensive, based on 83 items as would be gathered. The intensive field-work done for this research also helped in collecting some qualitative and quantitative information.

Thus the research uses both qualitative, as well as, quantitative information for the analysis.

Many difficulties were encountered during the research. It was an uphill task to collect data from an area that is so scattered. Furthermore contacting every *pradhan* during the last ten years was not an easy. Another hurdle was to maintain the secrecy of the replies from the respondents, in order to collect the qualitative data from the field itself. Therefore, different items were asked separately from every respondent.

The total number of respondents was 259. Out of this 28 were from the 1995 elected *panchayat*. ‘Sometimes it was extremely difficult to find these *pradhans*. The difficulty remained while trying to contact the 92 *pradhans* of the 2000 elected *panchayat*: 47 villagers were also contacted in order to gather the views of the community. Out of these 47, 13 were women and 34 men.

The tabulation and item analysis of the data collected was then processed through sophisticated computer software, like Microsoft Excel and SPSS and make the results error free.

*panchayati raj* Institutions were empowered after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment of the Indian Constitution in 1992, as these institutions and regular elections to them had become essential. A new and participatory leadership was necessary. A non-traditional leadership had to come forward that helped people resolve their problems programmes had to be planned and



implemented. Thus the major objectives of the present research problem are as under :

1. To analyse whether Age, Caste , Sex , Education and Occupation play any role in the emergence of new patterns of village leadership or not.
2. To study the patterns of emerging leadership at the village levels.
3. To explore and to understand the functioning of the *panchayati raj* Institutions in general, and the *gram panchayat* in particular, in the post amendment period.
4. To assess whether these *panchayati raj* Institutions particularly the *gram panchayats* are effectively functioning or not.
5. To explore and assess whether they function independently, i.e. without any interference from the government machinery.
6. To assess the level of peoples participation in these Institutions.
7. To assess and to study the functioning of the various *gram samities* and the involvement of village people in them.
8. To explore and analyse the development strategies adopted and implemented by involving village people.

9. To study and analyse the development works taken up by these *panchayats* especially the *gram panchayats*.
10. To evaluate the development programmes and to assess their impact on the life of the people.

### **Chapter - III**

#### **Analysis of Data Collected in Lodha Block of Aligarh District in U.P.**

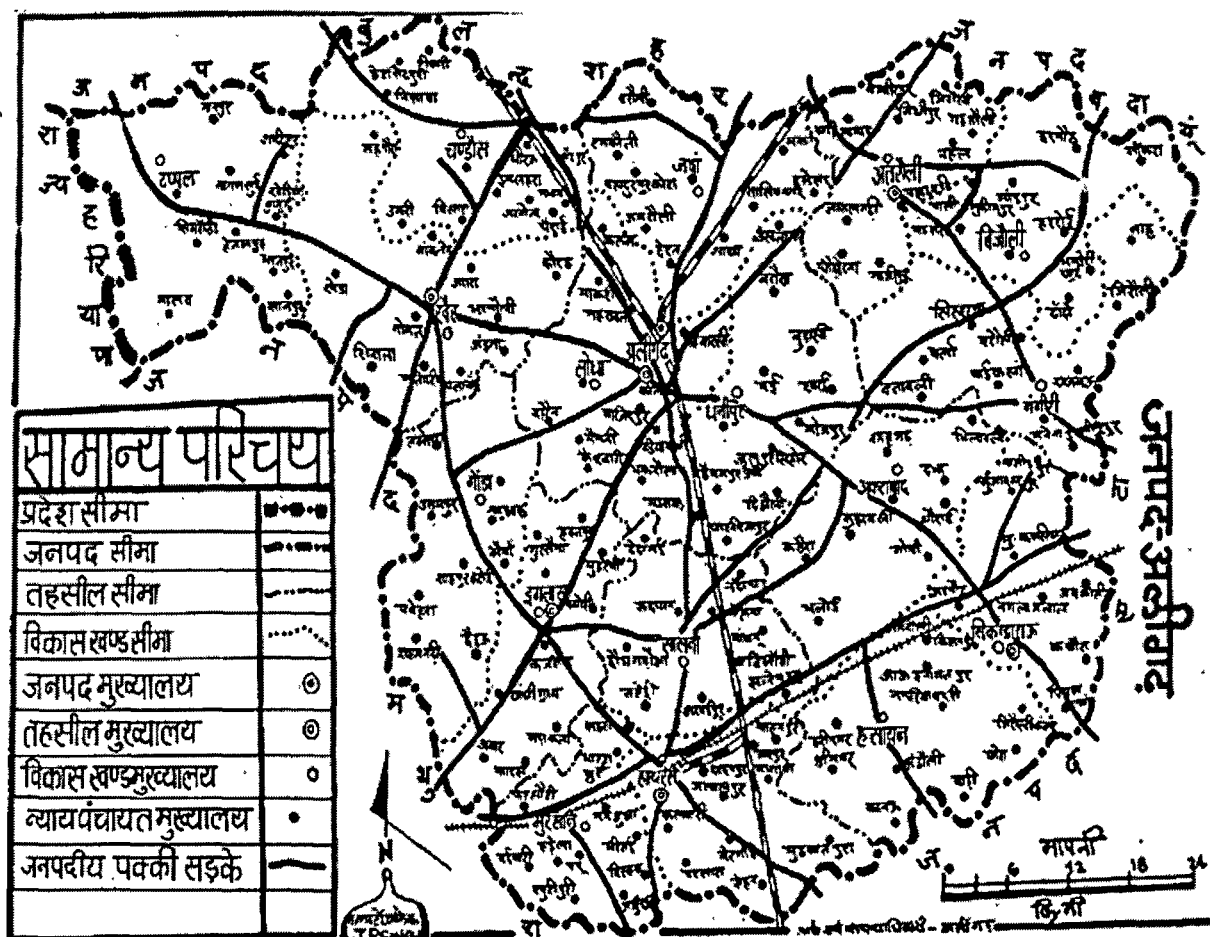
##### **(India)**

Block wise, Aligarh District has 12 blocks. Lodha is one among these Blocks. It covers an area of 280.45 sq.km which is 5.60 per cent of the District area. The Block Office is situated on Khair Road, near Khereshwar temple, which is 7 kilometre from district headquarters. The total number of *gram panchayats* under this block is 92 which cover 130 villages. These villages lie in the east along Qwarsi road, and in the west along Khair Road. In the north, the villages lie along Agra, and Mathura, and Gonda Roads. In the south, the villages lie along G.T. Road. Area-wise, it is a very scattered block extending over almost the whole periphery of the district.

According to the 1991 Census the total population of the block was 152651, which reached 200642 as the 2001 Census records. This shows an increase of 23.91 per cent. Its scheduled caste population was 52450 according to the 2001 Census, which is 26.14 per cent of the total population of the entire block.

The *panchayats* in Uttar Pradesh had just completed the second five year term, and the third round of elections were also successfully held in November-December, 2005. After the implementation of 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act, in 1993, the block's first election was held in 1995. Since then, two *panchayats* have their terms. This study is an

attempt to document these processes of change, and, to analyse the potential and efficacy of the new “*gram suwarajya*”. It is a unique block. It extends along almost the entire periphery, as has been stated, however, it also reaches the interiors. The data collected from various *panchayats* of the Lodha Block on the basis of a Structured Interview Schedule, and have been analysed item-wise.



District Aligarh (Lodha at the periphery of main city)

**Item No. 1(d):** Age-wise classification of 212 village leaders elected during 1995, 2000, and 2005 *panchayat* elections, i.e., after the enactment of the constitutional 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment Act.

**Table No 1**

**Age wise Distribution of Village Pradhans**

An age-wise study of village leaders was made. It was analyzed in order to know what age-groups tended to become village leaders. Before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, it was observed that village leaders were generally from high age-groups.

YEARS	AGE (IN YEARS)				TOTAL
	21-25	26-30	30-40	40 Above	
28 <i>pradhans</i> elected in 1995		2 (7.10%)	12 (42%)	14 (50%)	28 (100%)
92 <i>pradhans</i> elected in 2000	6 (6.50%)	10 (10.80%)	31 (33.60%)	45 (48.90%)	92 (100%)
92 <i>pradhans</i> elected in 2000	3 (3.2%)	12 (13.0%)	35 (38%)	42 (45.6%)	92 (100%)
<i>TOTAL</i> (212)	9 (4.2%)	24 (11.32%)	78 (36.7%)	101 (47.6%)	212 (100%)

Age is a significant variable in the study of rural leadership in Indian society. Rural leadership has been the monopoly of elderly people who have traditionally dominated all walks of social and political life in villages.

Table No.1 shows that half the number of *pradhans* in 1995, were in the 40 and above age group. This declined to 48.90 per cent in 2000, and further to 45.60 per cent in 2005. However, for the same years, the 26-30

years age-group was continuously increasing. It was 7.10 *per cent* in 1995, and reached 10.80 per cent in 2000. In 2005, five years later, it had reached 13.0 *per cent* at the *panchayat* elections. The 30-40 years age group fell to 33.60 per cent from a sizeable 42, in 1995 but rose to 38 percent in 2005. The presence of the 21-25 age-group is negligible being just 6.50 per cent in 2000 and 3.2 per cent in 2005.

Therefore, the Table indicates that the dominance of traditional leaders still exists in village *panchayats*. However, a sizable number of leaders (48.27 per cent ) from the 26-30 and 30-40 years age-groups are not way behind, for, old-age leadership is gradually giving way to the younger and middle-aged leaders. The data clearly indicates that there is a split in the traditional concept of rural leadership. The younger leadership is coming forward to hold responsibility of the rural community.

**Item No.1(e):** The sex-wise distribution of village leaders was also surveyed in order to know the extent of women participation in village *panchayats* after the enactment of the Constitution's 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment Act.

**Table No 2**

**Sex-Wise Distribution of Village Pradhans**

Women were thought best to serve at home. They were supposed to serve male members, and politics was supposed a male bastion, with which women had nothing to do.

YEARS	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
1995 (92)	33* (35.86%)	59* (64.28%)	92* (100%)
2000 (92)	34 (36.90%)	58 (63%)	92 (100%)
2005 (92)	34 (36.90%)	58 (63%)	92 (100%)
TOTAL (212)	101 (36.79%)	175 (63.20%)	276 (100%)

*(92 pradhans in this table are for the 1995 year. Secondary data from Election office made it authentic and clear)*

The data in Table No. 2 shows that women representation rose from 35.86 per cent in 1995 to 36.90 per cent in 2000 and stayed at it in 2005. The overall percentage was 36.79. This trend is totally different from traditional village *panchayats*, where male dominance was generally seen. This situation was the result of the obligatory provision of 33 per cent reservation for women under the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment Act. The data further shows that women had also captured more than one-third seats in *panchayats* from the open category. The election of women members from

non-reserved seats is a very encouraging. It will definitely help raise the social and political status of women in the rural community.

**Item No.1(e.1):** The previous Table shows women had captured more than the seats reserved for them in all three elections. In order to know what exactly happened closer analysis was thought necessary.

**TABLE NO. 3**

**Personal Traits of Women Pradhans**

In the past politics was beyond the reach of women.

YEARS	Reserved (for women)	Reserved (O.B.C.)	Reserved (B.C.)	Open Seats	TOTAL
1995 (33)	32 (96.96%)		1 (3.0%)		33 (100%)
2000 (34)	31 (91.17%)	1 (2.94%)	1 (2.94%)	1 (2.94%)	34 (100%)
2005 (34)	30 (88.23%)			4 (11.76%)	34 (100%)
TOTAL (99)	93 (92.0%)	1 (0.99%)	2 (1.98%)	5 (4.95%)	101 (100%)

Table No.3 shows that number of women who won the open seats/ reserved for other category in *gram panchayat* elections is increasing. In 1995, it was only 3 per cent from the B.C. quota, but increased to 8.82 per cent in 2000, capturing one seat each from the O.B.C, B.C. and the open quota. It further increased to 11.76 per cent in 2005, but this time the major achievement was that women had captured



only open seats. Women, therefore appear to challenge the traditionally male dominated village politics.

**Item No. 1(f):** How was religion represented in rural politics this after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment Act.

**Table No.4**

**Religious Distribution of Pradhans**

Minority communities too were neglected in the past. This was because they are less in number. They also did not have the resources considered important in the past.

YEARS	HINDU	MUSLIM	SIKH	CHRISTIAN	TOTAL
1995 (28)	27 (96.40%)	1 (3.50%)	----	----	28 (100%)
2000 (92)	83 (90%)	9 (9.70%)	----	----	92 (100%)
2005 (92)	86 (93.40%)	6 (6.50%)	----	----	92 (100%)
TOTAL (212)	196 (92.45%)	16 (7.50%)	----	----	212 (100%)

Table No. 4 shows Sikhs and Christians almost disappearing from rural areas. Their population in Lodha block was nil. The percentage of Muslim leaders was also very low. It was 3.50, 9.70 and 6.50 per cent 1995, 2000 and 2005 respectively. The rest of the leaders were from the Hindu religion. In 1995 there population percentage was 96.40 which is 2000 fell to 90, but again rose to 92.45 in 2005.

Religion-wise population was 92.45 per cent in case of Hindu and 7.50 per cent in case of Muslims. This indicates the dominance of Hindus. The representation of religious minority groups in *panchayat raj* institution in Lodha Block appeared negligible.

**Item No.1(g):** The caste-wise classification of village leaders, after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment Act too was studied. It appears in Table No. 5.

**Table No. 5**

**Caste Distribution of Pradhans**

Before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, only upper castes supposed competent to oversee village politics. Other castes and communities neither had the opportunity nor the courage to fight elections against the upper castes.

Years	Upper Caste	Backward Caste	Scheduled Castes	Total
1995 (28)	6 (21.40%)	8 (28.57%)	14 (50%)	28 (100%)
2000 (92)	37 (40.21%)	33 (35.80%)	22 (23.91%)	92 (100%)
2005 (92)	35 (38%)	33 (35.80%)	24 (26%)	92 (100%)
TOTAL (212)	78 (36.79%)	74 (34.90%)	60 (28.30%)	212 (100%)

Table No.5 shows the upper castes still dominating village politics in Lodha Block. Its over all percentage was 36.79 per cent , leaving only 28.30 per cent for scheduled castes and 34.90 per cent for backward castes. However, backward castes did maintain some stability in its position. It was 35.80 and 35.80 per cent in 2000 and 2005 respectively. Upper caste representative fell from 40.21 per cent to 38 per cent, while the

representation of schedule castes rose from 23.91 per cent to 26 per cent in 2000 and 2005. There is, therefore, little doubt in saying that the set pattern of village politics is cracking up.

**Item No.2:** The literacy level of village leaders, after the enactment of constitutional 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment Act was also surveyed. The results are displayed in Table No. 6.

**Table No 6**

**Literacy Status of Elected *Pradhans***

Earlier, literacy was supposed to have nothing to do with politics. It had no importance at all. Therefore, before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, most *pradhans* were found illiterate. Table No. 6 abundantly illustrates this.

YEARS	LITERATE	ILLITERATE	TOTAL
1995 (28)	24 (85.70%)	4 (14.20)	28 (100%)
2000 (92)	84 (91.30%)	8 (8.60%)	92 (100%)
2005 (92)	85 (92.30%)	7 (7.60%)	92 (100%)
TOTAL (212)	193 (91.03%)	19 (8.96%)	212 (100%)

Table No.6 indicates that by 2005, only a negligible number of *pradhans* remain illiterate, the percentage being 8.96. The majority was literate. The improvement is continuous. From 85.70 per cent in 1995, it rose to 91.30 per cent in 2000. It stood at 92.30 per cent in 2005. Clearly once again there is a dent in traditional set pattern, so earlier rural leadership neglected education. No one bothered about it.

**Item No.3:** In order to know the education level of village leaders, after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment Act of the Constitution their education levels were also surveyed.

**Table No 7**

**Education Level of Pradhans**

As last the table shows that, the level of literate *pradhans* was very low in past. Their education level was also very low.

YEARS	UP TO 5 <sup>TH</sup> CLASS	UP TO 8 <sup>TH</sup> CLASS	UP TO HIGH SCHOOL	Upto Inter	Graduation	Post- Graduation	TOTAL
1995 (24)	5 (20.8%)	5 (20.8%)	11 (45.8)	----	2 (8.33%)	1 (4.10%)	24 (100%)
2000 (84)	33 (39.28%)	3 (3.50%)	14 (16.66%)	12 (14.28%)	16 (19%)	6 (7.14%)	84 (100%)
2005 (85)	14 (16.40%)	21 (24.70%)	24 (28.23%)	15 (17.64%)	6 (7.05%)	5 (5.88%)	85 (100%)
TOTAL (193)	52 (24.52%)	29 (13.67%)	49 (23.11%)	27 (12.73%)	24 (11.32%)	12 (5.66%)	193 (100%)

Table No. 7 makes interesting reading. In 1995, the *pradhans* educated till Standard 5<sup>th</sup> was 20.8 per cent . This rose to 39.28 in 2000, but fell to 16.4 five years later. Those that were read till Standard 8<sup>th</sup> began at 20.8, fell to 3.5 but rose to 24.70 in 2005. Those that were High School were 45.8 per cent in 1995, but fell to 28.3 per cent in 2005. The Standard 12<sup>th</sup> entrants rose from 14.28 to 17.64. Graduate entrants were 8.33 first, rose to 19 but fell to 7.05. Post Graduates too first rose but fell later. The overall picture depicts entrants having passed only standard 5<sup>th</sup> to be at

24.52 followed by High School *pradhans* who were 23.11 per cent. The next slot was that of those *pradhans* who had passed only standard 8<sup>th</sup>. Post-graduates appeared least interested, though graduates and standard 12<sup>th</sup> passed *pradhans* too were sizeable candidates with standard 8<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> passes (and Graduates tended to be, together more than those who were only standard 5<sup>th</sup> pass. The last were only 24.52 %, while those with 8<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> and Graduate passes were 13.67, 23.11, 12.73 and 11.32 respectively. Their collective percentage was 60.83. Therefore, though Graduates and Post-Graduates tended to decline those with standard 8<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> passes increased. The general trend therefore was toward raising the education level, those with standard V passes only declining to 24.52 which could hardly compare with the 60.83 mark which included standards 8<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> as well as Graduates.

**Item No.4:** The occupational status of village leaders, after the 73<sup>rd</sup>

Amendment Act as also surveyed.

**Table No. 8**

**Occupational Status of Pradhans**

Before the 73<sup>rd</sup> amendment those who hold land in a village were thought the real power in the village and they, therefore, were supposed to handle the village politics.

Year	Farmer	Job	Business	Labour	Housewife	Retired	Total
1995 (28)	16 (57.10%)	1 (3.50%)	4 (14.20%)	----	7 (25%)	----	28 (100%)
2000 (92)	48 (52.10%)	3 (3.20%)	7 (7.60%)	----	33 (35.80%)	1 (1%)	92 (100%)
2005 (92)	41 (43.10%)	5 (5.40%)	10 (10.80%)	3 (3.20%)	32 (34.70%)	1 (1%)	92 (100%)
TOTAL (212)	105 (49.05%)	9 (4.20%)	21 (9.90%)	3 (1.40%)	72 (33.90%)	2 (.94%)	212 (100%)

Table No.8 shows that the single largest occupation of village leaders was still farming. It stood at an over-all of 49.05 per cent . Year-wise, it was 57.10 per cent, 52.10 and 43.10 per cent in the years 1995, 2000 and 2005 respectively. Farming was followed by house-wife village leaders whose percnetrage stood at 33.9, and yearwise was at 25, 35.80 and 34.70 in 1995, 2000 and 2005 respectively. This trend is a major break through in rural leadership where village politics was male dominated. Political leaders from the

village class business shows a different trend, i.e., the overall participation was 9.90 per cent. In 1995, it was 14.20 per cent but fell to 7.60 per cent in 2000, but rose to 10.80 per cent in 2005. The participants from the job sector shows a continuous increase in the percentage of leaders. It was 3.50 per cent in 1995, 3.20 per cent in 2000 at 4 per cent. Retirees too participated, but at 0.95 per cent it was very low though it does show a positive direction towards democracy. The major break-through comes from a section which was totally neglected. It gets recognition. For the labour class, it appears really a big achievement because before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment no one in this class could even think a participating in village politics because politics then was confirmed to the each only and the poor had nothing to do with it.

**Item No.5:** Next the focus was on the economic status of village leaders, after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment. Table No. 9 shows the survey details.

**Table No. 9**

**Economic Status of Pradhans**

In the past, we must not forget a village leader was supposed to have high economic status.

YEARS	UP TO 2400	More than 2400	Total
1995 (28)	13 (46.40%)	15 (53.50%)	28 (100%)
2000 (92)	63 (68.40%)	29 (31.50%)	92 (100%)
2005 (92)	68 (72.80%)	24 (26)	92 (100%)
TOTAL (212)	144 (67.40%)	68 (32.07)	212 (100%)

The data in Table No.9 reveals that an overall of 67.40 per cent *pradhan's* are from the lower income-group. It was 46.40 per cent in 1995, and 68.4 in 2000, and kept rising to reach 72.80 per cent in 2005. This shows a continuously increase In the number of leaders from the lower income-group and therefore is yet another example of democracy taking root.

While the over-all percentage of leaders from the higher income-group is 32.07 per cent , its year-wise break-up is decrease. In 1995 it



was 53.5 per cent, then in 2000 it was 31.50 per cent, and lastly in 2005 it was 26 per cent.

Therefore, there is a continuous increase in the percentage of low income group of village leadership. This could not be visualized before the passage of 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment.

**Item No.6:** The affiliation of village leaders to out side politics, after 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment.

**Table No. 10**

**Pradhans and their Political Affiliations**

Before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment political affiliation of village people was very low.

YEARS	Member of Party	Not member to any party	TOTAL
1995 (28)	8 (28.50%)	20 (67.80%)	28 (100%)
2000 (92)	35 (38%)	57 (61.90%)	92 (100%)
2005 (92)	32 (34.70%)	60 (64.10%)	92 (100%)
TOTAL (212)	75 (35.30%)	137 (63.69%)	212 (100%)

From the analysis of Table No.10, one can find that the majority of leaders are not the members of any political party, i.e., to over-all percentage was 63.69 per cent and the

break-up is 67.80 per cent, 61.90 per cent and 64.10 per cent for 1995, 2000 and 2005 respectively.

Those who are members of a political party the overall participation is 35.30 per cent. It was 28.50 per cent in 1995, and 38 per cent in 2000. It rose to 34.70 per cent in 2005.

Therefore, on the basis of above table, it could be concluded that the majority of the village leaders were not associated with political parties.

However those who were highly active in politics only affiliated themselves political party. They were highly active because their percentage did not fall below 28 per cent and reach a high of 34.7 per cent , with all over-all 35.30 per cent participation.

**Item No.7:** Party-wise affiliations of village leaders after the enactment of 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment was always surveyed.

#### **Table No. 11**

##### **Party-wise Wise Affiliation of Village Leaders**

The party in power was always considered very popular, and therefore, most of the villagers active in politics associated themselves with the party that was in power.

Years	Cong.	Samajwadi Party	Bahujan Samaj Party	Bhartiya Janta Party	Communist Party	Others	Total
1995 (8)	2 (25%)	2 (25%)	3 (37.50%)	1 (12.50%)	----	----	8 (100%)
2000 (35)	3 (8.50%)	1 (2.80%)	12 (34.20%)	17 (48.50%)	----	2 (5.71%)	35 (100%)
2005 (32)	1 (3.10%)	9 (28.10%)	8 (25%)	13 (40.60%)	----	1 (3.10%)	32 (100%)
TOTAL (75)	6 (8%)	12 (16%)	23 (30.60%)	31 (41.30%)	----	3 (4%)	75 (100%)

Table No. 11 illustrates thus abundantly. It shows that the majority of leaders in a village were not affiliated to any political party. Only 35.30 per cent respondents had political affiliation to some political party, or the other. However, out of this 41.30 per cent had BJP affiliation. BSP had 30.60 per cent with them and 16 per cent were with the Samajwadi Party and 8 per cent with the Congress. Between 1998 and 2004 the BJP was in power at the Centre, having a large number of MPs from UP. And, therefore, real power being in government affected party affiliation and most political affiliation was with the BJP.

It also clearly indicates that BJP and BSP had a strong hold in the rural areas of Lodha block.

**Item No.7(a):** The caste wise affiliation of leaders to different political parties, after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment of the Constitution was also studied.

**Table No. 12**

**Caste-wise Distribution of Political Affiliation of  
Pradhans**

The upper caste appears associated with the Samajwadi, the Congress and Bharateya Janta Parties, but was more inclined towards the latter, its percentage being 61.29. The Congress too had only a 16.66 per cent affiliation. After the BJP, the Samajwadi Party had 33.33 per cent of the political leadership.

	Upper caste	Backward caste	Scheduled caste	TOTAL
CONG.	1 (16.66%)	3 (50%)	2 (33.33%)	6 (100%)
S.P.	4 (33.33%)	7 (58.33%)	1 (8.33%)	12 (100%)
B.S.P.	4 (17.39%)	7 (30.43%)	12 (52.17%)	23 (100%)
B.J.P.	19 (61.29%)	6 (19.35%)	6 (19.35%)	31 (100%)
C.P.	---	---	---	---
OTHERS	---	---	3 (100%)	3 (100%)
TOTAL	28 (37.33%)	23 (30.66%)	24 (12%)	75 (100%)

The data in Table No. 12 show that the upper caste is mostly with the BJP. Its percentage of affiliation was 61.29. However, both BC as well as SC had each only 19.35 per cent affiliation. Of the SC, and the SC the

affiliations were high in BSP, the former having a 30.43 per cent affiliation and the latter 52.17. Its upper caste affiliation was only 17.39 per cent. After the BJP the upper caste affiliated more with the Samajwadi Party, standing as it did at 33.33 per cent. The Congress had most BC and SC affiliation that is even more than did the BSP. The total Congress affiliation of BC and SC was  $(50 + 33.33 = 83.33$  per cent), whereas with BSP it was  $(30.43 + 52.17 = 82.60$  per cent).

Another aspect that the table shows is that upper caste association with politics was most being at 37.33 per cent.

**Item No.08:** To know the level of power held by the old *panchayats*.

### **Table No. 13**

#### **Old Panchayats and their power**

Before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, village *panchayats* were supposed to look after the construction of roads and the drainage system only. This was because in the past *panchayats* had no powers, that is, neither political nor financial, nor administrative as is visualized that a local self government would have.

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	-----	7 (7.60%)	6 (6.50%)	13 (6.13%)	5 (10.63%)	18 (7%)
No	26 (92.80%)	72 (78.20%)	76 (82.60%)	174 (82.07%)	40 (85.10%)	214 (83%)
Indifferent	2 (7.1%)	13 (14.1%)	10 (10.8%)	25 (11.79%)	2 (4.25%)	27 (10%)
<i>Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.13 shows that in the Lodha Block of Aligarh district, there were 92 *gram panchayats*. This table makes a comparative analysis of the views of the *pradhans* who were elected in 1995, 2000 and 2005. The table shows that the elected *pradhans* even before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment and its implementation, had wanted *panchayats* for they thought that the functions assigned to these bodies were nominal. Furthermore, they had no financial power. Out of 92 *pradhans* of 1995, 28 were available. 92.80 per cent of these *pradhans* said that old *panchayats* were not empowered. 10 per cent respondent did not express any opinion about this phenomenon. If we take the collective opinion of the respondents about the old *panchayats*, 83 per cent respondents said that the old *panchayats* were not empowered.

If we look at *panchayats* from the point of their “functions”, old *panchayats* seem to have had very limited functions to perform. The respondents were asked to clarify as to whether the old *panchayats* were given financial power or not. Their opinions are given in Table No. 14.

**Item No.09:** To know the level of economic power held by the old *panchayats*.

**Table No. 14**

**Old Panchayats and Economic Power.**

As said earlier village *panchayats* had no political power. It is quite obvious that they also lacked economic power.

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	Grand Total
Yes	4 (14.20%)	5 (5.40%)	5 (5.40%)	14 (6.60%)	6 (12.76%)	34 (13%)
No	22 (78.50%)	78 (84.70%)	81 (88%)	181 (85.30%)	38 (80.85%)	219 (85%)
Indifferent	2 (7.1%)	9 (9.78%)	6 (6.52%)	17 (8.0%)	3 (6.38%)	20 (8%)
Total	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.14 shows that the *pradhans* of old *panchayats* were of the opinion that the *panchayats* were not entrusted any financial power and without any financial power they could do nothing for the development of the village. Hence no development took place. 78.5 per cent of the old *panchayat pradhans* were of this opinion. If we take the collective opinion of the *pradhans*, i.e., *pradhans* elected to the old *panchayats* and *pradhans* elected to the new *panchayats*, 85 per cent of them were found to say that the old *panchayats* had no financial power, and therefore, villages could not be developed as expected by the people. The villages appear to confirm

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this opinion, because 80.85 per cent of villagers too said the same thing.

Lacking financial power, old *panchayats* could do nothing.

**Item No.10:** What was the importance of caste, age, sex, occupation and land holding in the election of village leaders, before 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment? For this too, a survey was conducted.

**Table No.15**

**Panchayats and the Dynamics of Social Categories**

Before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment caste, age, sex, occupation and land-holding played very important roles in village politics.

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Caste	26 (92.80%)	79 (85.80%)	84 (91.30%)	189 (89.10%)	43 (91.48%)	232 (90%)
Age	21 (75%)	57 (61.90%)	64 (69.50%)	142 (66.90%)	25 (53.19%)	167 (64%)
Sex	23 (82.10%)	46 (50%)	66 (71.70%)	135 (63.60%)	33 (70.21%)	168 (65%)
Occupation	19 (67.80%)	36 (39.10%)	57 (61.90%)	112 (52.80%)	22 (46.80%)	134 (52%)
<i>Land holding</i>	26 (92.80%)	63 (68.40%)	69 (75%)	158 (74.50%)	37 (78.72%)	195 (75%)

The leadership of old *panchayats* was decided either on the basis of caste or size of the land-holding or age, and even often sex. Leadership was generally in the hands of the higher caste or the larger land holder, or a person of higher age and normally a male. Sometimes all these factors



interplayed in determining the leadership. Table No. 15 highlights this very phenomenon. People elected to *panchayats* before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, social categories had their influence. However, after the Amendment they have declining impact because new paradigms in the determination of the village leader are emerging, i.e., people from the lower caste, lower age, poor, and having no landholding are becoming village leader. Thus, the change the village leadership is quite manifest. The influence of landholders declined from 92.8 to 74.5 per cent. There was not a plunge but caste influence too declined by at least 3.7. per cent The percentage of the influence declined by 8.1 per cent being 75 in 1995 and 69.50 in 2005. The influence of sex too declined by around 10 per cent, males getting less dominant so did the impact of occupation also fall by more than 5 per cent.

**Item No.11:** The status of education would be *pradhans* and its impact was also studied.

**Table No.16**  
**Education in old Panchayats**

No one bothers about the education level of the village leaders in paste.

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	---	3 (3.20%)	6 (6.50%)	9 (4.20%)	4 (8.51%)	13 (5%)
No	26 (92.80%)	81 (88%)	79 (85.80%)	186 (87.70%)	41 (87.23%)	227 (88%)
Indifferent	2 (7.1%)	8 (8.69%)	7 (7.60%)	17 (8.01%)	2 (4.25%)	19 (7%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Education plays a very important part in every sphere of human life, and so it does in urban, as well as, rural areas. A democratic political set-up empowers people to elect their representatives to decision-making bodies, as also to have leadership qualities. The Indian Constitution however does not prescribe any basic qualification for any election. Table No. 16 highlights this trend. People elected to the village *panchayat* bodies do not see education as an important factor in the election of a *panchayat pradhan*. Education,. Therefore, was one of determinant factors earlier. 88 per cent elected representative to the *panchayat* institutions say that education does not count at all for getting them to be elected to these

political institutions whereas, only 5 per cent then say that the education does play important role to be a leader of the village community.

**Item No.12:** The survey to help know the extent of participation of every one in decision-making process, before the enactment of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment.

**Table No. 17**

**Level of Participation in Old Panchayats**

Earlier, apart from drainage and *kharanja* no other function were supposed meant for *panchayats*.

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	---	8 (8.60%)	4 (4.30%)	12 (5.60%)	5 (10.63%)	17 (7%)
No	26 (92.80%)	76 (82.60%)	81 (88%)	183 (86.30%)	41 (87.23%)	224 (86%)
Indifferent	2 (7.1%)	8 (8.69%)	7 (7.60%)	17 (8.01%)	1 (2.12%)	18 (7%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Another important issue that the respondents were asked to attend was the state of the decision making-process prior to the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment. Theoretically, decision- taking in these bodies was considered collective, where elected representatives discussed the issue freely and came to

conscious decisions. However, in practice decisions were almost always a *pradhan*'s decision be they on party/caste/or other issues. Thus, decision-making powers were in the hands of only a few who were generally from the dominating groups only.

This is clear from table no. 17 also, where 86 per cent are found saying that decisions were not taken collectively by the villagers, whereas, only 7 per cent people say that village people were involved in decision-making processes. 7 per cent of the respondents did not respond to the item.

**Item No.13:** The survey to help to know how satisfied were village people with their *panchayats*, before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment.

**Table No.18**

**An Overall View of Old *Panchayats***

Most village people were not satisfied with the work done by *panchayats* before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment.

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	8 (28.50%)	20 (21.73%)	12 (13.04%)	40 (18.86%)	8 (17.02%)	48 (18.53%)
No	18 (64.28%)	64 (69.56%)	72 (78.26%)	154 (72.64%)	38 (80.85%)	192 (74.13%)
Indifferent	2 (7.1%)	8 (8.69%)	8 (8.69%)	18 (8.49%)	1 (2.12%)	19 (7%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.18 shows that a majority of the respondents, i.e., 74.13 per cent said that *panchayats* did not do anything for the people, whereas only 18.53 per cent were of the opinion that these *panchayats* were definitely functional, and exercised power and contributed to the development of the village community.

**Item No.14:** A survey to help know the level of dis-satisfaction of the village people about village *panchayats*, before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment.

**Table No. 19**

Performance of old *panchayats* were considered very bad before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment .

**The Performance of Old Panchayats and Peoples Dis-Satisfaction**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Satisfied	4 (50%)	6 (25%)	2 (10.50%)	12 (23.50%)	4 (36.36%)	16 (26%)
Unsatisfied	%	4 (16.60%)	7 (36.80%)	11 (21.50%)	3 (27.27%)	14 (23%)
Average	4 (50%)	14 (14%)	10 (52.60%)	28 (13.20%)	3 (27.27%)	31 (50%)
Indifferent					1 (9.09%)	1 (2%)
<i>Grand Total</i>					11 (100%)	62 (100%)

Table No. 19, shows that the 50 per cent of the respondents were moderate about the functioning of *panchayats*. On the other hand, 26 per cent were quite satisfied. Only 23 per cent were not satisfied with the *panchayats*' functioning. The table indicates that the level of satisfaction was very low

in case of old *panchayats*, because a majority of the respondents were 'dissatisfied, the moderates included.

**Item No.15:** A survey to help know about the pattern of previous *panchayat* election.

**Table no. 20**

**Pattern of Election in Old and New *Panchayats***

Pattern of elections were not well in past, because violence was very high.

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	16 (57.10%)	72 (78.20%)	75 (81.50%)	163 (76.40%)	26 (55.31%)	189 (73%)
No	10 (35.70%)	9 (9.70%)	8 (8.60%)	27 (14.10%)	13 (27.65%)	40 (15%)
Indifferent	2 (7.14%)	11 (11.95%)	9 (9.78%)	22 (10.37%)	8 (17.02%)	30 (12%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.20 shows that, out of the total of 259 respondents 73 per cent say that there is no change in the pattern of the elections, that it is still the same as it was in the past. But, 15 per cent respondent did not agree, while 12 per cent were indifferent. Therefore, the whole it could be concluded that the pattern is still the same as it was in the past, because a majority of the respondents say that there is no change in the pattern of *panchayat* elections.

**Item No.16:** A survey to help know the performance of village *panchyats* during the previous five years.

**Table No. 21**

**Level and Degree of Performance of Old Panchayats**

It was thought that no work was done, through *panchayats* before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment.

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Very good	3 (10.70%)	22 (23.90%)	5 (5.40%)	30 (14.10%)	4 (8.51%)	34 (13%)
Average	20 (71.40%)	53 (57.60%)	53 (57.60%)	126 (59.40%)	26 (55.31%)	152 (59%)
Nothing	3 (10.70%)	7 (7.60%)	23 (25%)	33 (15.50%)	3 (6.38%)	36 (14%)
Indifferent	5 (17.85%)	32 (34.78%)	16 (17.39%)	53 (25%)	14 (29.78%)	36 (14%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (99.99%)	259 (100%)

As far as the performance of the old village *panchayats* is concerned, 59 per cent said that it was average in terms of performance, 14 per cent said that no work was done by the last *panchayat*, while 13 per cent of the villagers said that during the last 5 years *panchayats* had done good work.

It further shows that the performance of old *panchayats* was average and fell far short good performance.



**Item No.17:** A survey to help know the benefit which villagers thought they got from the present *panchayats*.

**Table No. 22**  
**New Panchayats and Benefits Accruing to the People**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	22 (78.40%)	73 (79.30%)	67 (72.80%)	162 (76.40%)	42 (89.36%)	204 (79%)
No	4 (14.20%)	10 (10.80%)	16 (17.30%)	30 (14.10%)	2 (4.25%)	32 (12%)
Indifferent	2 (7.14%)	9 (9.78%)	9 (9.78%)	20 (9.43 %)	3 (6.38%)	23 (9%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.22 shows that 79 per cent respondents were of the opinion that they were benefit from panchayat policies in one way or the other. Only 12 per cent did not agree, while 9 per cent were indifferent. 89.36 per cent of the villagers said that development work was taking place in village and villagers did benefit from it.

**Item No.18:** A survey to help know the level of representation from different casts in village *panchayats*.

**Table No. 23**

**Representation of SC/ST in Panchayat after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	24 (85.70%)	76 (82.60%)	75 (81.50%)	175 (82.50%)	37 (78.72%)	212 (82%)
No	2 %	6 (6.50%)	9 (9.70%)	17 (8.0%)	5 (10.63%)	22 (8%)
Indifferent	2 (7.14%)	10 (10.86%)	8 (8.69%)	20 (9.43%)	5 (10.63%)	25 (10%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 23 shows that 82.50 per cent of the elected *pradhans* said that the representation of lower castes is high in their *panchayats*. Only 8 per cent did not agree, while 9.43 per cent were indifferent.

If we include villagers' opinion we find that 82 per cent say 'yes' to this item. The respondents who said 'no' remains 8 per cent and those that were indifferent stay at 10 per cent.

**Item No.19:** A survey to help know the age-group level of involvement in present village *panchayats*.

**Table No. 24**  
**The Age-group Representation in Current *Panchayats***

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
22-30	----	6 (6.50%)	5 (5.40%)	11 (5.10%)	1 (2.12%)	12 (5%)
30-40	23 (82.10%)	69 (75%)	67 (72.80%)	159 (75%)	38 (80.85%)	197 (76%)
Above-40	3 (10.70%)	8 (8.60%)	11 (11.90%)	22 (10.30%)	7 (14.89%)	29 (11%)
Indifferent	2 (7.14%)	9 (9.78%)	9 (9.78%)	20 (9.43%)	1 (2.12%)	21 (8%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.24 shows the attitude of respondents to the age of 76 per cent of the respondents and that the *pradhans* were from the 30-40 years age-group. Thus, it is clear that the age group of the *pradhans* was younger than the age-group that became *pradhans* earlier.

**Item No.20:** A survey to help know the level of gender discrimination in current *panchayats*.

**Table No. 25**

**Gender Discrimination in Current *Panchayats***

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	26 (92.80%)	73 (79.30%)	75 (81.50%)	174 (82%)	43 (91.48%)	217 (84%)
No	----	10 (10.80%)	9 (9.70%)	19 (8.90%)	3 (6.38%)	22 (8%)
Indifferent	2 (7.14%)	9 (9.78%)	8 (8.69%)	19 (8.96%)	1 (2.12%)	20 (8%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

The most important aspect of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment that it reserves 33 per cent seats for women in *panchayats*. Village people know this fact and are taking advantage of it. Table No. 25 shows that 84 per cent respondent say yes to the item that gender discrimination in village-leadership is declining. Only 8 per cent disagreed.

**Item No.21:** A survey to help know the involvement of land-holders in village politics, after 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment.

**Table No. 26**

**Influence of Zamindari on Current Panchayats**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	26 (92.80%)	83 (90.20%)	82 (89.10%)	191 (90%)	46 (97.87%)	237 (92%)
No	----	----	1 (1.0%)	1 (1.0%)	-----	1 (0.38%)
Indifferent	2 (7.14%)	9 (9.78%)	9 (9.78%)	20 (9.43%)	1 (2.12%)	21 (8%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, representation of the land-holding class in village *panchayats* was very high but it is quite clear from the response of the respondents now that after 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, this situation has changed, for, 92 per cent say ‘yes’ to the above item and only 0.38 per cent say ‘no’ while 8 per cent are indifferent to this item.

**Item No.22:** A survey to help know the level of power which public enjoys in current *panchayats*.

**Table No. 27**

**Peoples' Participation in Current *Panchayats***

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	24 (85.70%)	80 (86.90%)	82 (89.10%)	186 (87.70%)	41 (87.23%)	227 (88%)
No	2 (7.10%)	4 (4.30%)	2 (2.17%)	8 (3.70%)	4 (8.51%)	12 (5%)
Indifferent	2 (7.14%)	8 (8.69%)	8 (8.69%)	18 (8.49%)	2 (4.25%)	20 (8%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.27 shows that 88 per cent respondent think that the power is now in the hands of the village people. Only 5 per cent did not agree with this opinion, while 8 per cent did not answer to this item. Therefore, it can be concluded that power today is in the hands of the people and they realize it and use it.

**Item No.23:** A survey to help know the involvement of government officials in the *panchayat* activities.

**Table No. 28**

**Role of Bureaucracy and Current *Panchayats***

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	22 (78.50%)	76 (82.60%)	78 (84.70%)	176 (83%)	40 (85.10%)	216 (83%)
No	4 (14.20%)	8 (8.60%)	6 (6.50%)	18 (8.49%)	5 (10%)	23 (9%)
Indifferent	2 (7.14%)	8 (8.69%)	8 (8.69%)	18 (8.49%)	2 (4.25%)	20 (8%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.28 shows that 83 per cent respondents were of the opinion that the role of bureaucrats in matters of *panchayat* functioning is declining today. Their involvement has now minimized and the power is in the hands of *panchayat* officials now. However, 9 per cent respondents say that bureaucrats are still involved, while 8 per cent did not answer to this item.

**Item No.24:** A survey to help know the pattern of change in village-leadership on the basis of education.

**Table No 29**  
**Role of Education in Leadership-building in Current Panchayats**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	25 (89.20%)	80 (86.90%)	81 (88%)	186 (83%)	42 (89%)	228 (89%)
No	1 (3.50%)	3 (3.20%)	2 (2.17%)	6 (2.80%)	1 (2.12%)	7 (3%)
Indifferent	2 (7.14%)	9 (9.78%)	9 (9.78%)	20 (9.43%)	4 (8.51%)	24 (9%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Although the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment did not say anything about the education level of *panchayat* officials, yet we find that a major change is taking place in this area today. Majority of *pradhans* are literate and a handful also have had higher education. From table no. 29 it is clear that 89 per cent people think that the village-leadership is now getting into educated hands. Only per cent did not think so, while 9 per cent people were indifferent to this item.



**Item No.25:** A survey to help know the status of various *samitis*.

**Table No.30**

**Constitution of Panchayats samitis**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Planning & Development Committee	4 (14.20%)	51 (55.40%)	11 (11.90%)	66 (31.10%)	8 (17%)	74 (29%)
Education Committee	12 (42.80%)	74 (80.40%)	24 (26.0%)	110 (51.80%)	20 (42.55%)	130 (50%)
Construction Works Committee	12 (42.80%)	66 (71.70%)	22 (23.90%)	100 (47.10%)	14 (29.78%)	114 (44%)
Health & Welfare Committee	7 (25%)	67 (72.80%)	12 (13%)	86 (40.50%)	14 (29.78%)	100 (39%)
Administrative committee	4 (14.20%)	55 (59.70%)	9 (9.70%)	68 (32.0%)	5 (10.63%)	73 (28%)
Water Management Committee	7 (25%)	45 (48.90%)	12 (13%)	46 (30.10%)	10 (21.27%)	74 (29%)
<i>None of these</i>	---	1 (1.0%)	2 (2.10%)	3 (1.40%)	---	3 (1%)

As the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment binds the village *panchayats* to form various village committees for its development, and same is visualized by the U.P. Government *panchayati raj* Act, therefore every village today have these committees as one finds from Table No. 30. Only 1 per cent respondent say 'no' in the reply to this item. And the highest number of villages is of those who have Education Committees, that is, 50 per cent, which is followed by Construction Committees which is 44 per cent , after that is the number of

Health and Welfare Committees which is 39 per cent, Development Committees which is 29 per cent . The last is number of Administration Committees which is 28 per cent.

**Item No.26:** A survey to help know what is the village leadership's understanding of village problems and its approach towards their solution

**Table No. 31**  
**Planning of the Development Work**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	14 (50%)	65 (70.60%)	54 (58.60%)	133 (62.70%)	10 (21.27%)	143 (55%)
No	5 (17.80%)	6 (6.50%)	4 (4.30%)	15 (7%)	5 (10.63%)	20 (8%)
Indifferent	9 (32.14%)	21 (22.82%)	34 (36.95%)	64 (30.18%)	32 (68.08%)	96 (37%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.31 shows that 62.70 per cent of elected *pradhans* say that they are planning strategy for the development of the village, while only 7 per cent say they cannot, and, 30.18 per cent are indifferent.

But if we take the villagers' opinion then we have only 21.27 per cent respondents saying 'yes' to this item, and, 10.63 per cent saying 'no', while 68.08 per cent are indifferent.

Therefore, on an average we can say that the situation is changing. A *panchayat* today understands local problems and tries to resolve those

problems at the local level because a majority of the respondents say 'yes' to the item..

**Item No.27:** A survey to help find whether village people are getting any benefit from various government schemes launched for village people through *panchayats*.

**Table No. 32**  
**Poverty Alleviation Programme**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	Grand Total
<i>Smpord grameed Rozgar Yojhna</i>	9 (32.10%)	40 (43.40%)	19 (20%)	68 (32%)	2 (4%)	70 (27%)
<i>Suwardjayanti gram Swarozgar Yojhna</i>	----	25 (27.10%)	8 (8.60%)	33 (15.50%)	----	33 (13%)
<i>Pradhan Mantery gram Sadak Yojana</i>	9 (32.10%)	45 (48.90%)	8 (8.60%)	62 (29.20%)	1 (2.12%)	63 (24%)
<i>Indera Awas Yojana</i>	15 (53.50%)	65 (70.60%)	17 (18%)	97 (45.70%)	4 (8.5%)	101 (39%)
<i>Pradhan Manteri gram-udai Yojana</i>	----	17 (18.40%)	1 (1.0%)	18 (8.40%)	----	18 (7%)
<i>Annapurdna etc.</i>	3 (10.70%)	8 (8.60%)	3 (3.20%)	14 (6.60%)	----	14 (5%)

Various government schemes are going on at village level for the betterment of the village people. Table No. 32 helps to evaluate scheme implementation levels in Lodha block. Thus, 27 per cent villagers were of the opinion that *sampoorna gramen rozgar yojna* is running, 13 per cent

were in favour of *suwarn jayanti gram swarrozgr yojna*; 24 per cent village-respondents got benefit from *Pradhan mantri gram sadak yojna*; 39 per cent got benefit from *indira awas yojna*; 7 per cent were in favour of getting the benefit from *pradhan mantri gram-udai yojna*; and only 5 per cent got benefits from other schemes.

**Item No.28:** A survey to help know the level of people-participation in the development work of a village.

**Table No.33**

**Gram Panchayat Consultation on Development Programmes**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	12 (42.80%)	31 (33.60%)	25 (27.10%)	68 (32%)	3 (6.38%)	71 (27%)
No	11 (39.20%)	11 %	%	%	8 (17.02%)	41 (16%)
Indifferent	5 (17.85%)	50 (54.34%)	56 (60.86%)	111 (52.35%)	36 (76.59%)	147 (57%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 33 shows that, 27 per cent of respondents say that *panchayat* talked to them regarding the village development, 16 per cent say that no one talked to them in this regard, while 57 per cent were indifferent to this item.

**Item No.29:** A survey to help know the level of active participation of village people in development programmes.

**Table No. 34**

**Development Suggestions**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	4 (14.20%)	27 (29.30%)	16 (17.30%)	47 (22.10%)	3 (6.38%)	50 (19%)
No	19 (67.80%)	12 (13.0%)	15 (16.30%)	46 (21.60%)	8 (17.02%)	54 (21%)
Indifferent	5 (17.85%)	53 (57.6%)	61 (66.30%)	119 (56.13%)	36 (76.59%)	155 (60%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Out of 259, those who responded ‘yes’ to this item were 19 per cent. They said that they had given advice to the village *panchayat* about village development matters, but 21per cent respondents say ‘no’ to this item, whereas, 60 per cent of respondents were indifferent to this item.

This shows that a handsome number of people are being involved in village development and they participate actively in village development schemes.

**Item No.30:** A survey to help know about the number of *panchayat* meetings held in an year.

**Table No. 35**

**Holding of Meeting of Panchayats**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
One	----	1 (1.0%)	2 (2.17%)	3 (1.40%)	3 (.38%)	6 (2%)
Two	15 (53.50%)	34 (36.90%)	28 (30.40%)	77 (36.30%)	8 (17.02%)	85 (33%)
Three	4 (14.20%)	8 (8.60%)	11 (11.90%)	23 (10.80%)	5 (10.63%)	28 (11%)
More than three	6 (21.40%)	36 (39.10%)	21 (22.80%)	63 (29.70%)	10 (21.27%)	69 (27%)
Indifferent	3 (10.71%)	13 (14.13%)	30 (32.60%)	46 (21.69%)	21 (44.68%)	67 (26%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

According to the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, two meetings in an year should be organized by the village *panchayat*. If we consider the opinions of the respondents we find that the highest percentage is of those who say that meetings were held twice an year, i.e., 33 per cent, while 27 per cent say more than two times, 11 per cent say three times in an year, and, only 2 per cent say once an year.

**Item No.31:** A survey to help know the accountability of a *panchayat* towards the villagers.

**Table No. 36**

**Panchayat Worked presented before Villagers**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	11 (39.20%)	67 (72.80%)	22 (23.90%)	100 (47.10%)	5 (10.63%)	105 (41%)
No	5 (17.80%)	4 (4.30%)	4 (4.30%)	13 (6%)	4 (8.51%)	17 (7%)
Indifferent	12 (42.85%)	21 (22.82%)	66 (71.73%)	99 (46.69%)	38 (80.85%)	137 (53%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 36 shows that 41 per cent respondents say that the *panchayat* presents its work in detail before the villagers, while 53 per cent were indifferent to this item. Only 7 per cent say 'no'.

**Item No.32:** A survey to help know the availability of funds to village pachayats for its development work.

**Table No. 37**

**Available Funds and Development through Panchayats**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	5 (17.80%)	55 (59.70%)	21 (22.80%)	81 (38.20%)	3 (6.38%)	84 (32%)
No	8 (28.50%)	14 (15.20%)	4 (4.30%)	26 (12.20%)	2 (4.25%)	28 (11%)
Indifferent	15 (53.57%)	23 (25%)	67 (72.82%)	105 (49.52%)	42 (89.3%)	147 (57%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

' The 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment takes special care of a *panchayat*'s financial matters.

38.20 per cent of the village *pradhans* say that the fund provided is sufficient for the development of village, while 11 per cent did not think so and wanted more funds for village development, while 57 per cent respondent did not reply to this item. Major problem faced by the village *panchayat* officials, is the availability of the funds on time. The timely delivery of money is still not ensured.



**Item No.33:** A survey to help know whether village *panchayats* are taken out side help for village development.

**Table No. 38**

**Development of Village and Other Agencies**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	1 (3.50%)	4 (4.30%)	5 (5.40%)	10 (4.70%)	----	10 (4%)
No	19 (67.80%)	70 (76.0%)	48 (52.10%)	137 (64.60%)	7 (14.89%)	144 (56%)
Indifferent	8 (28.57%)	18 (19.56%)	39 (42.39%)	65 (30.66%)	40 (85.10%)	105 (41%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 38 shows that 56 per cent of the respondents say that *panchayat* did not take help from any non-government organization while 41 per cent are indifferent to this item. The important thing which we find is that initiation for the development of the village is now NGO sponsored and role of village leaders is very meager.

**Item No.34:** A survey to help know the level of participation of S.C./S.T in the development activities of the village.

**Table No.39**

**Participation of SC/ST Development Activities**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	12 (42.80%)	73 (79.30%)	62 (67.30%)	147 (69.30%)	11 (23.40%)	158 (61%)
No	11 (39.20%)	6 (6.50%)	8 (8.60%)	25 (11.70%)	8 (17.02%)	33 (13%)
Indifferent	5 (17.85%)	13 (14.13%)	22 (23.91%)	40 (18.86%)	28 (59.7%)	68 (26%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 39 shows that 61 per cent respondents said that *panchayat* ensures the participation of B.C.'s, O.B.C.'s and S.C.'s in village development programmes and is due to the compulsions of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment. Only 13 per cent said that no one bothers about B.C.'s, O.B.C.'s and S.C.'s presence in *panchayats*. The talk of these castes is still little needed and participation only helps complete a formality that the constitution makes mandatory.

**Item No.35:** A survey to help know the role of the opposition in *panchayat* activities.

**Table No. 40**

**Role of the Opposition in Panchayats**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	14 50%	76 (82.60%)	66 (71.70%)	156 (73.50%)	10 (21.27%)	166 (64%)
No	8 (28.50%)	3 (3.20%)	6 (6.50%)	17 (8%)	5 (10.63%)	22 (8%)
Indifferent	6 (21.42%)	13 (14.13%)	20 (21.73%)	39 (18.39%)	32 (68.08%)	71 (27%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

There is participation of the opposition in village *panchayats* as is evidenced by Table No. 40. The table shows that 64 per cent respondents think it because after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, the political scenario has totally changed. Now people are well aware about their rights and exercise those rights at least at village level. Only 8 per cent respondent did not think so, while 27 per cent were indifferent to this item.

**Item No.36:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* complete village development work on time

**Table No. 41**

**Gram Panchayat and Development Work**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	7 (25%)	65 (70.60%)	36 (39%)	108 (50.90%)	5 (10.63%)	113 (44%)
No	14 (50%)	13 (14.10%)	8 (8.60%)	35 (16.50%)	6 (12.76%)	41 (16%)
Indifferent	7 (25%)	14 (15.21%)	48 (52.17%)	69 (32.54%)	36 (85.10%)	105 (41%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.41 shows that 44 per cent respondents say that development work by *panchayat* is completed on time, but 16 per cent do not think so, while 41 per cent were indifferent to this item.

As was discussed earlier in Item No. 32, that the major problem faced by *panchayats* today is non-availability of funds on time. This affects the development work.

**Item No.37:** A survey to help know if government officials co-operate in village- development work.

**Table No. 42**  
**Bureaucracy and Panchayat Development**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	9 (32.10%)	59 (64.10%)	36 (39%)	104 (16.50%)	7 (14.86%)	111 (43%)
No	12 (42.80%)	19 (20.60%)	7 (7.60%)	38 (17.90%)	3 (6.38%)	41 (166%)
Indifferent	7 (25%)	14 (15.21%)	49 (53.26%)	70 (33.0%)	37 (78.72%)	107 (41%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.42 shows that 49.05 per cent of the village *pradhans* say that government officials provide support in village development work, but 17.90 per cent say ‘no’ in response. And, an over-all 43 per cent ‘say’ yes to this Item and 16 per cent say ‘no’, while 41 per cent are indifferent in response to this Item. The role of officials is still not satisfactory as far as there help in village development concerned.

**Item No.38:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* are active in repair work, like hand pumps, kharanja, and school buildings.

**Table No. 43**

**Role of Panchayats in the Maintenance of Hand-pumps/Tubewells etc.**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	14 (50%)	68 (73.90%)	26 (28.20%)	108 (50.90%)	3 (6.38%)	111 (43%)
No	7 (25%)	9 (9.70%)	5 (5.40%)	21 (9.90%)	7 (14.89%)	28 (11%)
Indifferent	7 (25%)	15 (16.30%)	61 (66.30%)	83 (39.15%)	37 (78.72%)	120 (4%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.43 shows that 43 per cent respondents have the opinion that *panchayats* are active in small-works like repair of hand pumps, repair of school etc. Only 11 per cent say 'no' in response. But if we take village and elected representatives' responses separately then we find that though only 6.38 per cent villagers are in favour, 50.9 per cent elected representatives in *panchayats* say 'yes' in response.

**Item No.39:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* actively provide help to villagers in their agriculture effort.

**Table No.44**

**Gram Panchayats and Agriculture**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Irrigation facility	2 (7.10%)	9 (9.70%)	2 (2.17%)	13 (6.10%)	1 (2.12%)	14 (5%)
New Developed Seeds	4 (14.20%)	36 (39.10%)	4 (4.30%)	44 (20.70%)	2 (4.25%)	46 (18%)
Fertilizers	9 (32.10%)	53 (57.60%)	4 (4.30%)	66 (31.10%)	2 (4.25%)	68 (26%)
Pesticides and Insecticides	----	18 (19.50%)	----	18 (8.40%)	----	18 (7%)
Right price of Sugarcane	----	18 (8.4%)	----	18 (8.4%)	----	18 (8.4%)

Table No. 44 shows that 26 per cent of the work had been done by the *panchayats* in providing fertilizers, 18 per cent in providing new developed seeds to the farmers, 8.4 per cent in helping to sell sugarcane in the market, and 7 per cent by making pesticides and insecticides available, while 5 per cent in giving farmers irrigation facility.

Although the level of work in different areas varies from one *gram panchayat* to another, yet it is clear from above the table that work in area of agriculture is indeed being heaped by *panchayats* in the Lodha block.

**Item No.40:** A survey to help know the role of *panchayats* in land-reform, land consolidation and land protection.

**Table No.45**

**Gram Panchayats and Land Reforms**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	2 (7.10%)	30 (32.60%)	5 (5.40%)	37 (17.40%)	3 (.38%)	40 (15%)
No	11 (39.20%)	24 (26.0%)	11 (11.90%)	46 (21.60%)	5 (10.63%)	51 (20%)
Indifferent	15 (53.57%)	38 (41.30%)	76 (82.60%)	129 (60.84%)	39 (82.98%)	168 (65%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 45 shows that only 15per cent respondent say that *panchayat* is indeed playing a role in the area of land reform, consolidation and protection. 20 per cent totally deny this and 65 per cent do not give any opinion on this issue. Therefore, from above table it is clear that *panchayats* are less active in this area.



**Item No.41:** A survey to help know the *panchayat* role in incomes generation schemes like animal husbandry, poultry farm, dairy.

**Table No.46**

**Gram Panchayats and Income-Generation Schemes**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	2 (7.10%)	49 (53.20%)	1 (1.0%)	52 (24.50%)	1 (2.12%)	53 (20%)
No	12 (42.80%)	16 (17.30%)	13 (14.10%)	41 (19.30%)	6 (12.76%)	47 (18%)
Indifferent	14 (50%)	27 (29.34%)	85 (92.39%)	119 (56.13%)	40 (85.10%)	159 (61%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

18 per cent respondents say that *panchayats* do not play any role in this area, but 20 per cent say that other than in agricultural areas like animal husbandry, dairying and poultry, *panchayats* do play a role.

But if we take only villagers' opinion then we find that only 2.12 per cent agree that work is going on in this area, while in contrast 24.50 per cent elected representative say that work is indeed going on. 61 per cent of respondent did not give any opinion. Therefore, it could be said that the working of *panchayats* in this particular area can be doubted.

· **Item No.42:** A survey to help know the role of *panchayats* in helping to develop fishery.

**Table No.47**

**Gram Panchayats and Fishery**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	----	2 (2.10%)	1 (1.0%)	3 (1.40%)	2 (4.25%)	5 (2%)
No	14 (50%)	64 (69.50%)	13 (14%)	91 (42.90%)	6 (12.76%)	97 (37%)
Indifferent	14 (50%)	26 (28.26%)	78 (84.78%)	118 (55.66%)	39 (82.97%)	157 (61%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 47 shows that only 2 per cent of respondents agree that fishery work is going on in Lodha block with the help of its *panchayats* while 37 per cent deny this totally, and, about 61 per cent do not reply at all to the item.

In this area, *panchayats* do not appear to play any role, because both *panchayat* officials, as well as, villagers do not say significantly.

**Item No.43:** A survey to help know the role of *panchayats* in the area of *Awas Yojana* in villages.

**Table No.48**

**Gram Panchayats and Avas Vikas Yojna**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	13 (46.40%)	79 (85.80%)	23 (25%)	115 (54.20%)	9 (19.14%)	124 (48%)
No	1 (3.50%)	-----	-----	1 (0.47%)	2 (4.25%)	3 (1%)
Indifferent	14 (50%)	13 (14.13%)	69 (75%)	96 (45.28%)	36 (76.59%)	132 (51%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 48 shows that 54.20 per cent elected representatives say that work in area of rural housing is going on, and a somewhat similar opinion comes from villagers which is 48 per cent. The respondents who say 'no' are only 1 per cent and therefore negligible 51 per cent do not reply to this Item.

The table helps how that in Lodha Block, *panchayats* are working to provide shelter to the weaker sections of society through rural housing up-to some level.

**Item No.44:** A survey to know if *panchayats* play any role in development of small-scale industry.

**Table No.49**

**Gram Panchayats and Cottage Industries**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	3 (10.70%)	3 (3.20%)	5 (5.40%)	11 (5.10%)	10 (21.27%)	21 (8%)
No	13 (46.40%)	63 (68.40%)	11 (11.90%)	87 (41.0%)	-----	87 (34%)
Indifferent	12 (42.85%)	26 (28.26%)	76 (82.60%)	114 (53.77%)	37 (78.72%)	151 (58%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Only 8 per cent respondents say that cottage industry like small-scale industries including food processing is being helped by the *panchayats*, and 34 per cent say 'no'. 58 per cent remain indifferent. Even 41 per cent elected *panchayat* officials/members say that no work is being done in this area.

**Item No.45:** A survey to help know that *panchayats* are active in the supply of fodder and energy.

**Table No. 50**

**Gram Panchayats and the Supply of Fodder and Energy**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	Grand Total
Yes	----	23 (25%)	6 (6.50%)	29 (13.60%)	2 (4.25%)	31 (12%)
No	12 (42.80%)	43 (46.70%)	16 (17.30%)	71 (33.40%)	6 (12.76%)	77 (30%)
Indifferent	16 (57.14%)	26 (28.26%)	70 (76.08%)	112 (52.83%)	39 (82.97%)	151 (58%)
Grand Total	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.50 shows that only 12 per cent respondent agree that *panchayats* help supply of fuel and fodder, while 30 per cent deny this, while 58 per cent were indifferent to this Item.

Therefore, according to this table, though *panchayats* are working in this area, yet the work is not up to the mark.

**Item No.46:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* construction of roads, puliyas, and water routes etc.

**Table No. 51**

**Gram Panchayat and Transport**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	11 (39.20%)	69 (75%)	17 (18.40%)	97 (45.70%)	7 (14.89%)	104 (40%)
No	3 (10.70%)	7 (7.60%)	5 (5.40%)	15 (7%)	2 (4.25%)	17 (7%)
Indifferent	14 (50%)	16 (17.39%)	70 (76.08%)	100 (47.16%)	38 (80.85%)	138 (53%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 51 shows that 40 per cent respondents agree that work is going on road , culverts , bridges, ferries , water ways and other means of communication through *panchayat* only 7 per cent respondent didn't think so. While 53 per cent didn't respond to this. So in this area work is going on in Lodha Block, but level of satisfaction varies.

**Item No.47:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* play any role or not in providing electricity supply to the village.

**Table No.52**

**Gram Panchayat and Electricity Supply**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	8 (28.50%)	62 (67.30%)	10 (10.80%)	80 (37.70%)	4 (8.50%)	84 (32%)
No	7 (25%)	14 (18.40%)	11 (11.90%)	32 (15%)	5 (10%)	37 (14%)
Indifferent	13 (46.42%)	16 (17.39%)	71 (77.17%)	100 (47.16%)	38 (80.85%)	138 (53%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

*panchayats* are also active in rural electrification, including distribution of electricity as 32 per cent respondents say so. Only 14 per cent respondents say ‘no’ to this Item, while 53 per cent do not give their opinion.

All though there is difference of opinion, because 37.70 per cent among the respondents who say ‘yes’ are elected representatives we could say that at least some work is going on in Lodha block villages in this field.

**Item No.48:** A survey to help know the role of *panchayats* in poverty alleviation programmes.

**Table No.53**

**Gram Panchayats and Poverty Alleviation Programmes**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	5 (17.80%)	58 (63%)	13 (14.10%)	76 (35.80%)	5 (10.63%)	81 (31%)
No	9 (32.10%)	17 (18.40%)	10 (10.80%)	36 (16.90%)	4 (8.51%)	40 (15%)
Indifferent	14 (50%)	17 (18.47%)	69 (75%)	100 (47.16%)	38 (80.85%)	138 (53%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 53 shows that 31 per cent respondents say ‘yes’ in response, and 51 per cent say ‘no’, while 53 per cent respondents do not express any opinion.

Therefore, it could be said that work is going on in this area, but again, the level of satisfaction differs.



**Item No.49:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* play any role in the area of sanitation and health of the villagers.

**Table No.54**

**Role of Gram Panchayats and Sanitation**

	1995	2000	2005	Total	Villager's	Grand Total
Yes	2 (7.10%)	36 (39.10%)	4 (4.30%)	42 (19.80%)	2 (4.25%)	44 (17%)
No	12 (42.80%)	34 36.90%	19 (20.60%)	65 (30.60%)	6 (12.76%)	71 (27%)
Indifferent	14 (50%)	22 (23.91%)	75 (105%)	105 (49.52%)	39 (82.97%)	144 (56%)
Grand Total	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 54 shows that 27 per cent respondents are of opinion that *panchayat* did not play any role in health and sanitation, including hospitals, primary health centres and dispensaries. But 17 per cent say that they do play a role for the health needs of villagers. And 56 per cent did not express their opinion on this Item.

**Item No.50:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* provide help to the handicapped and socially challenged persons.

**Table No.55**

**Gram Panchayats and the Socially Challenged**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	4 (14.20%)	51 (55.40%)	18 (19.50%)	73 (34.40%)	3 (6.38%)	76 (29%)
No	10 (35.70%)	19 (20.60%)	5 (5.40%)	34 (16%)	5 (10.63%)	39 (15%)
Indifferent	14 (50%)	22 (23.91%)	69 (75%)	105 (49.52%)	39 (82.97%)	144 (56%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.55 shows that 29 per cent respondents favoured the work done by *panchayats* for social welfare, including the welfare of the handicapped and mentally retarded. 15 per cent respondents did not favour *panchayats*. And 56 per cent of respondents did not reply to this Item.

The *panchayats* are helping the handicapped and also working for social welfare, however, no one said that the mentally retarded were also being attended to by the *panchayats*.

**Item No.51:** A survey to help know what *panchayats* do for the upliftment of weaker sections.

**Table No.56**

**Gram Panchayats and Marginalised Section**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	9 (32.10%)	55 (59.70%)	22 (23.90%)	86 (40.50%)	3 (6.38%)	89 (34%)
No	6 (21.40%)	17 (18.40%)	4 (4.30%)	27 (12.70%)	5 (10.63%)	32 (12%)
Indifferent	13 (46.42%)	20 (21.73%)	66 (71.73%)	99 (46.69%)	39 (82.97%)	138 (53%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 56 shows that nearly 34 per cent respondent were of the opinion that *panchayats* are playing an active role in welfare of weaker sections, and in particular, of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. But 12 per cent respondents did not think so, while 53 per cent did not reply to this Item.

**Item No.52:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* kept an eye on the quality of the development work going on in the village.

**Table No.57**

**Gram Panchayats and the Quality of Work**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	Grand Total
Yes	7 (25%)	66 (71.70%)	25 (27%)	98 (46.20%)	3 (6.38%)	101 (39%)
No	7 (25%)	8 (8.60%)	3 (3.20%)	18 (8.40%)	6 (12.76%)	24 (9%)
Indifferent	14 (50%)	18 (19.56%)	64 (69.56%)	96 (45.28%)	38 (80.85%)	134 (52%)
Grand Total	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 57 shows that 46.20 per cent of elected representatives in *panchayats* said that a quality check is properly done in village development, but if villagers' opinion is taken only 6.38 per cent respondents were found in favour. On the other hand of those who say 'no' to this Item, 8.40 per cent were from elected representatives and 12.76 per cent from villagers. But 52 per cent respondents did not reply to this Item.

The response showed that quality check was being done by the *panchayats* in village development areas. Therefore, again the level of satisfaction differed.

**Item No.53:** A survey to help know if libraries were being run through village *panchayats*.

**Table No. 58**

**Gram Panchayats and Libraries**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	-----	1 (1.0%)	1 (1.0%)	2 (0.94%)	-----	2 (1%)
No	26 (92.80%)	78 (84.70%)	68 (73.90%)	172 (81.10%)	18 (38.29%)	190 (73%)
Indifferent	2 (7.14%)	13 (14.13%)	23 (25%)	38 (17.92%)	29 (61.70%)	67 (26%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 58 shows that 73 per cent respondents said that no work was done for library establishment in the rural areas of Lodha Block by its panchyats. However, 1 per cent replied 'yes', while 26 per cent respondents did not reply at all to this Item.

Therefore, the conclusion can be *panchayats* did not area since majority says no in response to this item.

**Item No.54:** *panchayat* is providing any technical/ vocation education to the needed persons or not.

**Table No.59**

**Vocational/Technical Education and Gram Panchayats**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	1 (3.50%)	2 (2.10%)	6 (6.50%)	9 (4.20%)	-----	9 (3%)
No	13 (46.40%)	64 (69.50%)	18 (19.50%)	95 (44.80%)	9 (19.10%)	104 (40%)
Indifferent	14 (50%)	26 (28.26%)	68 (73.91%)	108 (50.94%)	38 (80.85%)	146 (56%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 59 shows that 40 per cent respondents were of the opinion that no steps had been taken by the *panchyats* for technical training and vocational education in Lodha Block. 56 per cent did not respond to this Item.

Both villages and elected officials of *panchayat* said ‘no’ to this Item.

**Item No.55:** A survey to help know if a school is running in the village

**Table No. 60**  
**Educational Institution in Villages**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	26 (92.80%)	78 (84.70%)	77 (83.60%)	181 (85.30%)	42 (89.36%)	223 (86%)
No	----	1 (1.0%)	2 (2.17%)	3 (1.40%)	1 (2.12%)	4 (2%)
Indifferent	2 (7.14%)	13 (14.13%)	13 (14.13%)	28 (13.20%)	4 (8.10%)	32 (12%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 60 shows that 86 per cent respondents said ‘yes’ to this Item.

Only 2 per cent said ‘no’. Therefore, a majority of the villages had schools in Lodha Block. 12 per cent respondents did not reply to this Item. Therefore, a majority of the people agree that education to the child was available in the villages.

**Item No.56:** A survey to help know to what standard is the education facility available in villages.

**Table No. 61**

**Grading at Educational Institutions**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Class 1 <sup>st</sup> to 5 <sup>th</sup>	17 (65.30%)	56 (71.70%)	59 (76.60%)	132 (72.90%)	27 (57.44%)	159 (61%)
Class 5 <sup>th</sup> to 10 <sup>th</sup>	9 (34.60%)	22 (28.20%)	18 (23.30%)	49 (27%)	15 (31.91%)	64 (25%)
Indifferent	2 (7.14%)	14 (15.21%)	15 (16.30%)	31 (14.62%)	5 (10.63%)	36 (12%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 60 shows that 86 per cent respondents said that they had schools in their villages. Table No. 61 shows that 61 per cent had schooling from 1<sup>st</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> class in their village, and 25 per cent had schooling from 5<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup>.

Therefore it could be concluded that a majority of the villages in Lodha Block had primary school facility.



**Item No.57:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* take steps to regularize children's attendance in schools.

**Table No. 62**

**A Child's Accessibility to Education**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	25 (89.20%)	68 (73.90%)	65 (70.60%)	158 (74.50%)	16 (34.04%)	174 (67%)
No	1 (3.50%)	10 (10.80%)	14 (15.20%)	25 (11.70%)	2 (4.25%)	27 (10%)
Indifferent	2 (7.14%)	14 (15.21%)	13 (14.13%)	29 (13.67%)	29 (61.70%)	58 (22%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 62 shows that 67 per cent respondents said that children from the age group of 5 to 11 go to school. Only 10 per cent said 'no' to this Item .

In the area of primary education the village in Lodha Block is very active and the above table shows that people actively participate in this programme.

**Item No.58:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* make any special arrangement for the girl child in villages.

**Table No. 63**

**School and the Girl Child**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	3 (10.70%)	6 (6.50%)	3 (3.20%)	12 (5.60%)	-----	12 (5%)
No	23 (82.10%)	72 (78.20%)	76 (82.60%)	171 (80.60%)	17 (36.17%)	188 (73%)
Indifferent	2 (7.14%)	14 (15.21%)	13 (14.13%)	29 (13.67%)	30 (63.82%)	59 (23%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 63 shows that 73 per cent respondents said ‘no’ to a separate arrangement for girl education in villages. Only 5 per cent said ‘yes’ and that too by the village *panchayats*, because at some point of time they did arrange some sort of tuition for girls on a personal basis. 23 per cent were indifferent to this Item.

**Item No.59:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* regularize teachers presence and teaching activities in village schools.

**Table No. 64**

**Panchayats and Schools**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	25 (89.20%)	68 (73.90%)	70 (76%)	163 (76.80%)	15 (31.91%)	178 (69%)
No	1 (3.50%)	10 (10.80%)	9 (9.70%)	20 (9.40%)	3 (6.38%)	23 (9%)
Indifferent	2 (7.14%)	14 (15.21%)	13 (14.13%)	29 (13.67%)	29 (61.70%)	58 (22%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 64 shows that 69 per cent respondents said that a proper check was made on teacher-presence in schools by the *panchayat* itself. Only 9 per cent said ‘no’ to this Item. Therefore, *panchayats* in Lodha Block seem to be very active in children education.

**Item No.60:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* arrange education accessibility to the children of poor families.

**Table No. 65**  
**Education for Underprivileged Children**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	8 (28.50%)	9 (9.70%)	7 (7.60%)	24 (11.30%)	----	23 (9%)
No	18 (64.20%)	68 (73.90%)	72 (78.20%)	158 (74.50%)	18 (38.29%)	176 (68%)
Indifferent	2 (7.14%)	15 (16.30%)	13 (14.13%)	30 (14.15%)	29 (61.70%)	59 (23%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

No separate arrangement for the education for the weaker sections had been made for the in Lodha block as data shows in table No. 65 that 68 per cent respondents said 'no' when they were asked on this Item. Only 9 per cent said 'yes' and again that too by elected *panchayat* representatives only. 23 per cent respondents did not reply to this Item.

**Item No.61:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* play any role in educating adults who are not educated in village.

**Table No. 66**  
**Adult Education in Villages**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	1 (3.50%)	6 (6.50%)	2 (2.17%)	9 (4.20%)		9 (3%)
No	25 (89.20%)	72 (78.20%)	76 (82.60%)	173 (81.60%)	17 (36.17%)	190 (73%)
Indifferent	2 (7.14%)	14 (15.21%)	14 (15.21%)	30 (14.15%)	30 (63.82%)	60 (23%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 66 shows that 73 per cent respondents said ‘no’ when they were asked if the *panchayat* was doing anything for adult education in the village. Only 3 per cent said ‘yes’ and again only the *panchayats* representatives. No one said ‘yes’ in response to this Item from among the village respondents. 23 per cent respondents were indifferent to this Item.

**Item No.62:** A survey to help know if school have a toilet facility.

**Table No. 67**  
**Toilet Facility at School**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	24 (85.70%)	74 (80.40%)	78 (84.70%)	176 (83%)	18 (38.29%)	194 (75%)
No	1 (3.50%)	4 (4.30%)	1 (1.0%)	6 (2.80%)		6 (2%)
Indifferent	3 (10.71%)	14 (15.21%)	13 (14.13%)	30 (14.15%)	29 (61.70%)	59 (23%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.67 shows that in every village the primary school did have a toilet facility 75 per cent respondents said ‘yes’ to this Item. Only 2 per cent said ‘no’ and that was said by *panchayat* representatives. 23 per cent respondents were indifferent to this item.

**Item No.63:** A survey to help know if the facility of safe drinking-water is available in school premises.

**Table No. 68**

**Drinking-water Facility at School**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	25 (89.20%)	77 (83.60%)	77 (83.60%)	179 (84.40%)	17 (36.17%)	196 (76%)
No	----	1 (1.0%)	1 (1.0%)	2 (0.94%)	1 (2.12%)	3 (1%)
Indifferent	3 (10.71%)	14 (15.21%)	14 (15.21%)	31 (14.62%)	29 (61.70%)	60 (23%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.68 shows that 76 per cent respondents said ‘yes’ when they were asked if the facility of fresh water was available at school. Only 1 per cent respondent said ‘no’ in answer to this Item, 23 per cent were indifferent..

Therefore, at least from the previous and from this Item it was clear that basic facilities are available in the primary schools of Lodha Block.

**Item No.64:** A survey to help know if women are empowered through reservations of seats in *panchayat* for them.

**Table No.69**

**Empowerment of Women through Reservation**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	13 (46.40%)	53 (57.60%)	54 (58.60%)	120 (56.60%)	14 (29.78%)	134 (52%)
No	9 (32.10%)	17 (18.40%)	14 (15.20%)	40 (18.80%)	2 (4.25%)	42 (16%)
Indifferent	6 (21.42%)	22 (23.91%)	24 (26%)	52 (24.52%)	31 (65.95%)	83 (32%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.69 shows that 52 per cent respondents thought that women development could be accelerated at the village level through the reservations of seats for women in *panchayat* elections, but only if women want it for then, they should have the courage to face the challenges. Government had just provided a platform. Women should take advantage of it. Only 16 per cent did not think that the reservation provided would be of any help. 32 per cent respondents were indifferent to this Item.



**Item No.65:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* ensure the active participation of women in village development activities.

**Table No.70**

**Womens Participation in Developmental Activities.**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	7 (25%)	57 (61.90%)	53 (57.60%)	117 (55.10%)	10 (21.27%)	127 (49%)
No	17 (3.50%)	21 (22.80%)	15 (16.30%)	53 (25%)	6 (12.76%)	59 (23%)
Indifferent	4 (14.28%)	14 (15.21%)	24 (26.08%)	42 (19.81%)	31 (65.95%)	73 (28%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

According to Table No.70, 55.10 per cent *panchayat* official respond that women participate in village development activities. On the other hand, 25 per cent officials and 12.76 per cent villagers did not think so, while 28 per cent were indifferent on this issue.

**Item No.66:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* ensure coordinated

A.N.M. and Anganwadi work in villages.

**Table No.71**

**Anganwadi and ANM Co-ordination**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	22 (78.50%)	78 (84.70%)	70 (76%)	170 (80.10%)	14 (29.78%)	184 (71%)
No	1 (3.50%)	----	3 (3.20%)	4 (1.80%)	-----	4 (2%)
Indifferent	5 (17.85%)	14 (15.21%)	19 (20.65%)	38 (17.92%)	33 (70.21%)	71 (27%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 71 shows that 71 per cent respondents had the opinion that both A.N.M. and anganwadi co-operate with each other. Only 2 per cent said 'no' to this Item. 27 per cent were indifferent to this issue.

Therefore a proper tuning between two important field area-people was seen in villages. And without doubt work results will be very good if the field situation remained like this.

**Item No.67:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* check A.N.M'S visits to villages and if they did, then at what intervals.

**Table No. 72**

**ANM'S Visits to the Village**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Once a week	1 (3.50%)	4 (4.30%)	2 (2.17%)	7 (3.30%)	-----	7 (3%)
In Two Week's	6 (21.40%)	30 (32.60%)	21 (22.80%)	57 (26.80%)	7 (14.89%)	64 (25%)
In Three Week's	9 (32.10%)	34 (36.90%)	41 (44.50%)	84 (39.60%)	6 (12.76%)	90 (35%)
Once a Month	8 (28.50%)	11 (11.90%)	9 (9.70%)	28 (13.20%)	----	28 (11%)
Total	24 (85.71%)	79 (85.86%)	73 (79.34%)	176 (83.01%)	13 (27.65%)	189 (73%)
Indifferent	4 (14.28%)	13 (14.13%)	19 (20.65%)	36 (16.98%)	34 (72.34%)	70 (27%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 72 shows that 35 per cent is the highest in category of those respondent who said that A.N.M. visited their village in three weeks, followed by 25 per cent of those who said in two weeks, and after that 11 per cent of those who said once a week, and lastly 3 per cent said that A.N.M. to village every week.

**Item No.68:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* checked the work of A.N.M. i.e. a pregnant women check-up ensuring that iron folic acid tablets were being taken.

**Table No. 73**

**Pregnant Women and Supply of I.F.A. Tablets**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	17 (60.70%)	73 (79.30%)	71 (77.10%)	161 (75.90%)	13 (27.65%)	174 (67%)
No	----	3 (3.20%)	1 (1.0%)	4 (1.80%)	----	4 (2%)
Indifferent	11 (39.28%)	16 (17.39%)	20 (21.73%)	47 (22.16%)	34 (72.34%)	81 (31%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.73 that 67 per cent says that A.N.M. checks pregnant women in villages and gives them I.F.A. during pregnancy. But if the village is far from the main city the percentage declines. 31 per cent were indifferent to this Item.

**Item No.69:** A survey to help find if *panchayats* ensured the availability of Facilities of primary health centres to villagers.

**Table No.74**

**P.H.C. and their Role in the Villages**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	1 (3.50%)	4 (4.30%)	5 (5.40%)	1 (4.70%)	3 (6.38%)	13 (5%)
No	18 (64.20%)	73 (79.30%)	52 (56.50%)	143 (67.40%)	11 (23.40%)	154 (59%)
Indifferent	9 (32.14%)	15 (16.30%)	35 (38.04%)	59 (27.83%)	33 (70.21%)	92 (36%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

There is always controversy about PHC services being available to villagers. This is highlighted from this survey as only 5 per cent respondent say 'yes' in response to this Item as table no.74 shows, while 59 per cent say 'no'. P.H.C. did not still have a very good reputation among villagers. 36 per cent respondents were indifferent to this item.

**Item No.70:** A survey to help knowing *panchayats* ensure that A.N.M. is family planning information to villagers.

**Table No. 75**

**Role of ANMS in Family Planning**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	16 (57.10%)	74 (80.40%)	61 (66.30%)	151 (71.20%)	12 (25.53%)	163 (63%)
No	1 (3.50%)	5 (5.40%)	2 (2.17%)	8 (3.70%)	1 (2.12%)	9 (3%)
Indifferent	11 (39.28%)	13 (14.13%)	29 (31.52%)	53 (25%)	34 (72.34%)	87 (34%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No.75 shows that 63 per cent respondents say that A.N.M. generally talks to the women of the village and give them necessary information regarding family planning, and ensures the availability of temporary methods. A.N.M. gets help from Aganwadi, and C.B.D. from different departments

Those persons who say that A.N.M, Aganwadi and C.B.D. did not perform there work properly were only 3 per cent which is negligible. While 34 per cent respondents were indifferent to this Item the argument behind this was that it is a ladies' dealing, with which they have nothing to do.

**Item No.71:** *panchayats* check A.N.M.'S work on regular basis.

**Table No.76**  
***Panchayats and the ANM'S***

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	16 (57.10%)	75 (81.50%)	58 (63%)	149 (70.20%)	12 (25.53%)	161 (62%)
No	1 (3.50%)	5 (5.40%)	4 (4.30%)	10 (4.70%)	1 (2.12%)	11 (4%)
Indifferent	11 (39.28%)	12 (13.04%)	30 (32.60%)	53 (25%)	34 (72.34%)	87 (34%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 76 shows that 62 per cent village leaders say that they check regularly the work of A.N.M. and Anganwadi workers. 4 per cent say that since they do not have direct control over there is no use checking them. 34 per cent were indifferent to this Item.

**Item No.72:** A survey to help knowing *panchayats* meetings are held on time.

**Table No.77**

**Gram Panchayats meetings**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	14 (50%)	77 (83.60%)	33 (35.80%)	124 (58.40%)	6 (12.76%)	130 (50%)
No	9 (32.10%)	3 (3.20%)	1 (1.0%)	13 (6.10%)	3 (6.38%)	16 (6%)
Indifferent	5 (17.85%)	12 (13.04%)	58 (63.04%)	75 (35.37%)	38 (80.85%)	113 (44%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 77 shows that 50 per cent respondent say that *panchayat* meetings are generally held on time and they participate in it. Only 6 per cent respondents say that the meeting time is not certain. The argument was that generally meeting tooks place more than two times in a year and people's participation were not ensured due to the lack of a suitable place for such a large gathering. 44 per cent respondents were indifferent.



**Item No.73:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* sent timely information of *panchayat* meeting to villagers.

**Table No.78**

**Issue of Notice of Gram Panchayats Meetings**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Secretary	18 (64.20%)	59 (64.10%)	13 (14.10%)	90 (42.40%)	4 (8.50%)	94 (36%)
B.D.O.	5 (17.80%)	12 (13%)	12 (13%)	29 (13.60%)	----	29 (11%)
<i>Pradhan</i>	----	9 (9.70%)	5 (5.40%)	14 (6.60%)	5 (10.63%)	19 (7%)
Indifferent	5 (17.85%)	12 (13.04%)	62 (67.39%)	79 (37.26%)	38 (80.85%)	117 (45%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

About 45 per cent of the respondents were indifferent to this item.

There are 80.85 percent villagers are still not aware about how *panchayats* function. 36 per cent respondents replied in the favour of the Secretary. *pradhans* are aware of sending the notice of *panchayat* meetings.

**Item No.74:** A survey to help know if the agenda of village *panchayats* meetings is sent on time.

**Table No.79**

**Agenda of Meetings Given on Time**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	17 (60.70%)	77 (83.60%)	25 (27%)	119 (56.10%)	6 (12.76%)	125 (48%)
No	4 (14.20%)	3 (3.20%)	3 (3.20%)	10 (4.70%)	1 (2.12%)	11 (4%)
Indifferent	7 (25%)	12 (13.04%)	64 (69.56%)	83 (39.15%)	40 (85.10%)	123 (47%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 79 shows that 48 per cent respondents say that the meetings' notice is sent on time and people are well aware about the meetings. Only 4 per cent respondents say that the prior information of meeting is not communicated. 47 per cent respondents did not reply to this item.

**Item No.75:** A survey to help know *panchayats* members are misutilizing the power of the *panchayat*.

**Table No.80**  
**Nepotism in Panchayats**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	1 (3.50%)	1 (1.0%)	----	2 (0.90%)	1 (2.12%)	3 (1%)
No	23 (82.10%)	79 (85.80%)	33 (35.80%)	135 (63.60%)	8 (17.02%)	143 (55%)
Indifferent	4 (14.28%)	12 (13.04%)	59 (64.13%)	75 (35.37%)	38 (80.85%)	113 (44%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 80 shows that 55 per cent respondents thinks that nepotism is minimized in the present *panchayat* and that this is due to the fact that 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment has bound people leaving no room for such actions. Only 1 per cent did not think so which is negligible. while 44 per cent were indifferent to this item.

**Item No.76:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* listen to the problems of the village.

**Table No. 81**

**Attention Towards Problems of Villagers**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	23 (82.10%)	80 (86.90%)	33 (35.80%)	136 (64.10%)	9 (19.14%)	145 (56%)
No	1 (3.50%)	----	----	1 (0.47%)	----	1 (0.38%)
Indifferent	4 (14.28%)	12 (13.04%)	59 (64.13%)	75 (35.37%)	38 (80.85%)	113 (44%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 81 shows that 56 per cent respondents say that problems are listened to every section of society, however the actions taken vary. Only 0.38 per cent did not think so which is negligible. 44 per cent respondents were indifferent to this item.

**Item No.77:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* help realize the governments goals.

**Table No. 82**

**Panchayati Raj System and Realization of Goals**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	20 (71.40%)	62 (67.30%)	57 (61.90%)	139 (65.50%)	19 (40.42%)	158 (61%)
No	5 (17.80%)	18 (19.50%)	17 (18.40%)	40 (18.80%)	2 (4.25%)	42 (16%)
Indifferent	3 (10.71%)	12 (13.04%)	18 (19.56%)	33 (15.56%)	26 (55.31%)	59 (23%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 82 shows that 61 per cent of respondents agreed that *panchayati raj* today is fulfilling the dreams of the people at grassroot level. Only 16 per cent said 'no' to this item. 23 per cent were indifferent to this item.

**Item No.78:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* today provide a strong leadership to the country.

**Table No. 83**

**Panchayati Raj System and Leadership**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	19 (67.80%)	63 (68.40%)	57 (61.90%)	139 (65.50%)	18 (38.29%)	157 (61%)
No	6 (21.40%)	17 (18.40%)	18 (19.50%)	41 (19.30%)	2 (4.25%)	43 (17%)
Indifferent	3 (10.71%)	12 (13.04%)	17 (18.47%)	32 (15.09%)	27 (57.44%)	59 (23%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 83 shows that 61 per cent respondents say that *panchayats* enhance the quality of the country's political leadership as *panchayats* have a three-tier administrative system which provides leadership at village, block and district level. Only 17 per cent respondents were did not agree with this view. 23 per cent respondents were indifferent to this item, and again, one finds that 57.44 per cent villagers too were indifferent to this item.

**Item No.79:** A survey to help to know *panchayats* help in minimize social discrimination at village level.

**Table No. 84**

**Panchayati Raj System and Social Justice**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	Grand Total
Yes	20 (71.40%)	66 (71.70%)	61 (66.30%)	147 (69.30%)	20 (42.55%)	167 (64%)
No	5 (17.80%)	14 (15.20%)	14 (15.20%)	33 (15.50%)	-----	33 (13%)
Indifferent	3 (10.71%)	12 (13.04%)	17 (18.47%)	32 (15.09%)	27 (57.44%)	59 (23%)
Grand Total	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Discrimination on the basis of caste, age gender etc. was very common before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, but after its implementation the presumption was that all kinds of discrimination will disappear from society. In March-April 1995, first *panchayat* election was held in Lodha Block in after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, the basis being this Amendment. After 11 years in 2003, 64 per cent people of this block are of the opinion that discrimination is decreasing. Only 13 per cent did not think so. However 64 per cent people do realize this fact. Definitely these 13 per cent people will experience it in future.

**Item No.80:** A survey to help know if *panchayats* take steps at village level in maintaining rights to equality.

**Table No. 85**

**Panchayati Raj System and Equality**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	23 (82.10%)	71 (77.10%)	65 (70.60%)	159 (75%)	15 (31.91%)	174 (67%)
No	2 (7.10%)	9 (9.70%)	10 (10.80%)	21 (9.90%)	5 (10.63%)	26 (10%)
Indifferent	3 (10.71%)	12 (13.04%)	17 (18.47%)	32 (15.09%)	27 (57.44%)	59 (23%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

Table No. 85 shows that 67 per cent respondents are of the opinion that *panchayat Raj* is successful in providing equal rights to every person in society. Only 10 per cent say ‘no’ to this item. 57.44 per cent of the villagers did not respond to this item.

But on an over-all basis we could say that *panchayat Raj* is marching ahead in providing equal rights to every person in the village.



**Item No.81:** A survey to help know if training is provided to the elected representatives of the *panchayats*.

**Table No. 86**

**Elected Representatives under the New *Panchayati Raj* System and  
their Training**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	1 (3.50%)	51 (55.40%)	1 (1.0%)	53 (25%)	3 (6.38%)	56 (22%)
No	15 (53.50%)	26 (28.20%)	77 (83.60%)	118 (55.60%)	3 (6.38%)	121 (47%)
Indifferent	12 (42.85%)	15 (16.30%)	14 (15.21%)	41 (19.33%)	41 (87.23%)	82 (32%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

From Table No. 86 it is clear that 2000 elected *panchayat* officials of Lodha Block did get training. Respondents got trained by district and Aligarh Muslim University officials.

**Item No.82:** A survey to help know if the training of elected *panchayat* representatives helps enhance *panchayat* activity.

**Table No.87**

**Future Training of Panchayat Members**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	1 (3.50%)	56 (60%)	5 (5.40%)	62 (29.20%)	4 (8.51%)	66 (25%)
No	2 (7.10%)	8 (8.60%)	2 (2.10%)	12 (5.60%)	----	12 (5%)
Indifferent	25 (89.28%)	28 (30.43%)	85 (92.39%)	138 (65.09%)	43 (91.48%)	181 (70%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

As it is clear from the above table that till 2000, only elected representatives of Lodha block got training. The present table discusses the necessity of such training as well as, the necessity that the trained representatives realized its importance. 60 per cent respondents from this period think it did. Only 8.60 per cent have some doubts, while 30.43 were indifferent to this item.

**Item No.83:** A survey to help know if training did help them in proper functioning of *panchayats*.

**Table No.88**

**Training Representatives and Functioning of Panchayats**

	(1995) 28 out of 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2000) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	(2005) All 92 <i>pradhans</i> available	Total 212 <i>pradhans</i>	Villagers 47	<i>Grand Total</i>
Yes	1 (3.50%)	53 (57.60%)	2 (2.10%)	56 (26.40%)	4 (8.51%)	60 (23%)
No	2 (7.10%)	8 (8.60%)	8 (8.60%)	18 (8.40%)	-----	18 (7%)
Indifferent	25 (89.28%)	31 (33.69%)	82 (89.13 %)	138 (65.09%)	43 (91.48%)	181 (70%)
<i>Grand Total</i>	28 (100%)	92 (100%)	92 (100%)	212 (100%)	47 (100%)	259 (100%)

This item is also connected with the previous two items. 57.60 per cent were helped from such training in completing the *panchayat* work. Only 8.60 per cent did not think so. 33.69 per cent of the elected *pradhans* were different to this item.

The majority of *pradhans* realized the importance of such training because they thought they got exposed to aspects of the *panchayat* system about which they were totally unaware. Such training had also helped them, as they

said, in enhancing the effectiveness of *panchayat* work in its villages.

## **Chapter-IV**

### **Profile of the *Pradhans***

Data was collected in order to know the profile of village leaders since the implementation of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment of the Indian Constitution (1992). The main feature of the Act is the provision of reservation of one-third seats for women as well as the reservation for scheduled castes according to their percentage in the total population of a *panchayat* area. This thesis attempts to highlight the basic variables constituting the socio-economic background of *panchayati raj* representatives such as age, caste, sex, occupation, education level, income and land-holding. The major variable constituting the socio-economic background of the elected representatives of *panchayati raj* Institutions (PRIs) are being examined in this thesis.

### **AGE**

Rural leadership has been a monopoly of elderly people who have traditionally dominated all walks of social and political life in villages. Various studies have been conducted to find out the relationship between age and rural leadership. Francis Abraham<sup>31</sup> finds age reduced to the least significant variable in his study. Chaudhary<sup>32</sup> found a relatively younger leadership taking over the *panchayati raj* Institutions. Sirsikar's<sup>33</sup> study indicates that leaders below 25 years and above 55 years were not given

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<sup>31</sup> Francis Abraham, Dynamics of Leadership in Villages in India, Allahabad, India International, 1974, p 107.

<sup>32</sup> D.S.Chaudhary, Emerging Rural Leadership in an Indian State, Rohtak, Manthan, 1981, p.99.

<sup>33</sup> V.M.Sirsikar, The Rural Elite in a Developing Society, New Delhi, Oriental Longman, 1970, p.42.

much attention by *panchayati raj* institutions. Oscar Lewis<sup>34</sup> gives no importance to age as a criterion from the selection of community leadership. G.Ram Reddy's<sup>35</sup> findings reveal that rural leadership is of old age. S.N.Mishra<sup>36</sup> indicates that rural of the middle age group is the hub of rural leadership.

To study the age factor the age of the respondents is being classified into four groups, that is, the 21-25, 26-30, 30-40 and the above 40 years age-groups. 212 *gram pradhans* were contacted. Of these, 28 were from the 1995 elected *gram panchayats*, 92 from the 2000 elected *gram panchayats* and again 92 *gram pradhans* for the year 2005. Census Survey (2000) and (2005): elected *gram panchayats*. Analyzing the data year-wise it was found that 4.20 per cent village leaders were from the 21-25 years age-group, and, 11.32 per cent were from the 26-30 years age-group, and 36.70 per cent belonged to 30-40 years age-group. Taking the 21-25 and 30-40 years age-group together the total goes up to 52.22 per cent of the whole sample, which is more than fifty per cent. It was also found that 47.60 per cent belong to the 40-above age-group. The year-wise break-up of the data shows that out of 29 *gram pradhans* no one was from the 21-25 years age-group this was in 1995. Then in 2000, out the 92 *pradhans* elected 6.5 per cent were from this age-group and in 2005, it fell to 3.20 per cent, again out of 92 elected leaders. This shows that there is a decline

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<sup>34</sup> Oscar Lewis, *Village Life in Northern India*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1954, p.130.

<sup>35</sup> G.Rama Reddy, *panchayati raj- A case study of Block Administration in Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad, NIRD, 1972, PP. 74-78.

<sup>36</sup> S.N.Mishra, *Pattern of Emerging Leadership in Rural India*, Patna, Associated, 1977, p.111.

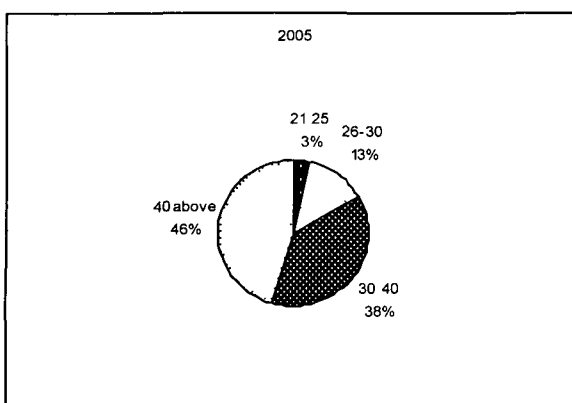
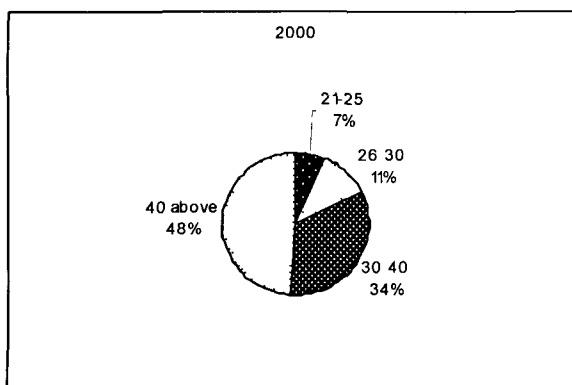
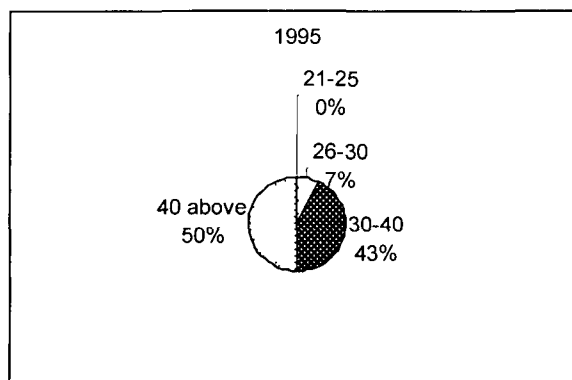
in the percentage of the elected *gram pradhans* in the 21-25 years age group.

From the 26-30 years age-group, there were 7.10 per cent in 1995, out of the 28 village leaders that could be contacted. This rose to 10.80 per cent in 2000 out of 92, and to 13 per cent in 2005, again out of 92 elected village leaders. This shows a continuous rise in the number of elected representatives from this age-group.

From the 30-40 years age-group, there were 42 per cent in 1995, out of the 28 village leaders that could be contacted. This rose to 33.60 per cent in 2000 out of 92, and to 38 per cent in 2005, again out of 92 elected leaders from this age group.

Finally, there was the 40-above age group. From this age-group, out of 28 village leaders, the representation was 50 per cent in 1995, and 48.90 per cent out of 92 elected leaders in 2000, and finally, 45.60 per cent again out of 92 elected leaders in 2005. There, therefore, was a continuous fall in the percentile of elected leaders from this age-group though the total fall was only by 4.40 per cent.

This has been shown through the help of following graph.



The majority of village leaders, therefore, belonged to the younger age-group, that is, those between 21-25, and 26-30 years. This is quite significant in the context of Indian villages where old age has always been very respected and younger people were not supposed to be in positions of leadership. On the basis of this, it can be argued that leadership is no more



based on seniority alone, but is also related to one's capacity to deliver services because younger people are more energetic and enthusiastic.

### Gender

Politics has been considered a male dominated field in spite of the fact that women constitute about half the population of the country. Women were not expected to be active politicians in the past. Suresh Mishra<sup>37</sup> while studying the sex divisions amongst *panchayat* members finds that male *panchayat* representatives were 66.5 per cent and female 33.5.

Parmatma Saran<sup>38</sup> argues that Indian village women have traditional been assigned domesticity, and therefore, only gradually have women adorned the leadership mantle. Thus, even today, out of a 608 sample, only 44.4 per cent were women representatives.

Out of the total sample of 276 *pradhans*, elected *pradhans* were women and 62.73 per cent were men. The 1995 election secondary data from the block Office was used. The Lodha block's full strength of *pradhans* is 92. 92, that is the full strength has been taken into consideration.

In the 1995 election, 64.28 per cent leaders were male and 35.70 per cent female, out of the total 92 elected leaders. Then in 2000, 63 per cent leaders were male and 36.90 per cent female out of the total of 92 elected

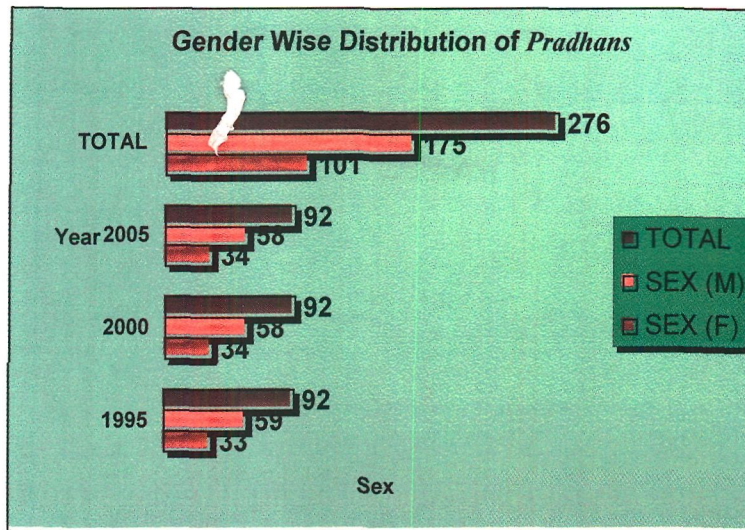
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<sup>37</sup> Suresh Mishra, *Dynamics of New panchayati raj System in India- Volu. II*, p.122.

<sup>38</sup> Parmatama Saran, *Rural Leadership in context of India's Modernization*, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. New Delhi, 1978

leaders. And lastly in 2005, male representation was 61.90 per cent, and female 38 per cent, out of the total of 92 elected leaders.

This has been shown in the following graph :-



This shows that women participation in village leadership today is much more, especially when contrasted to the traditional set-up of village leadership. Earlier, women were supposed to work within the four walls of the home. What is still more significant is that women representation in village leadership is much more than the 33 per cent seats the government had reserved for them, the over-all being 37.20 per cent of the total of 276 elected *pradhans* during the years 1995, 2000 and 2005. This again contradicts traditional ways of village politicking. Looking at the situation in the context of the last three elections, we find is a continuous increase in the percentile of women *pradhans*. In 1995, it was 35.70 per cent, and in 2000 it was 36.90 per cent, 2005, it was 38 per cent. The 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment

has had a profound effort on the male-female ratio of *pradhans* in the *panchayats* of the Lodha block.

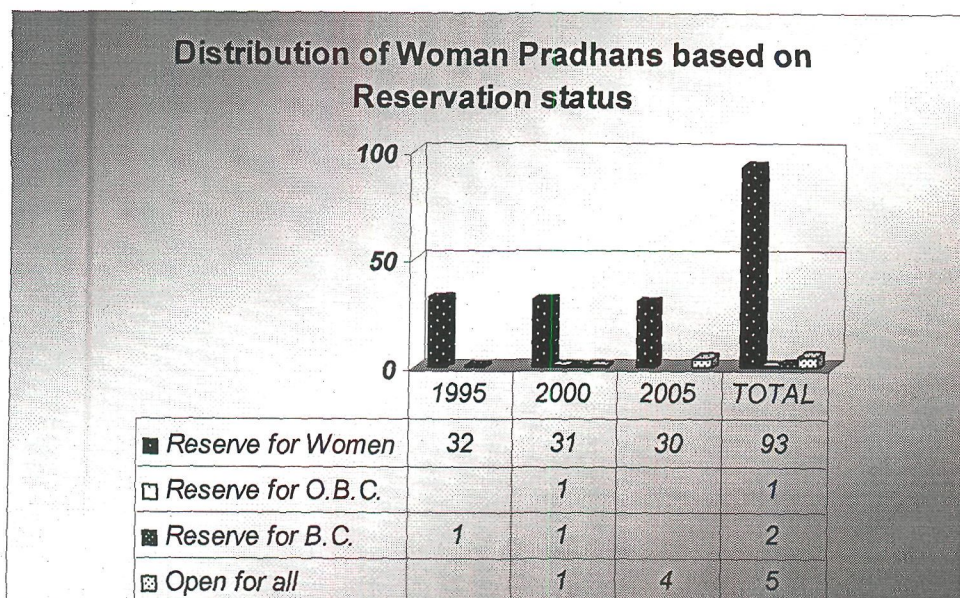
### **Women *Pradhans* and the Reservation Pattern**

Out of the 33 elected women leaders in 1995, 96.96 per cent were elected from reserved seats for women candidates, while only 3 per cent women leaders were elected from seats reserved for backward castes.

Then out of the total 34 elected women leaders in 2000, 91.17 per cent were elected from reserved seats for women candidates, but the rest were elected from other quotas, i.e., 2.94 per cent from other backward castes and 2.94 per cent from backward castes.

And lastly in 2005, out of the total 34 elected women leaders, 88.23 per cent were elected from the reserved quoted for women candidates, and the rest of the 11.76 per cent were from open seats, i.e. those open to all..

This is shown through in the following graph :-



The 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment had reserved 33 per cent seats for women candidates, but the post Amendment election pattern shows that performance of the women leaders is improving at every election, even since 1995. For, in 1995, it was 35.86 per cent and in 2000 it was 36.95 per cent, and finally 36.95 per cent in 2005. This shows that in every election women capture more than the 33 per cent reserved through the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment for women candidates.

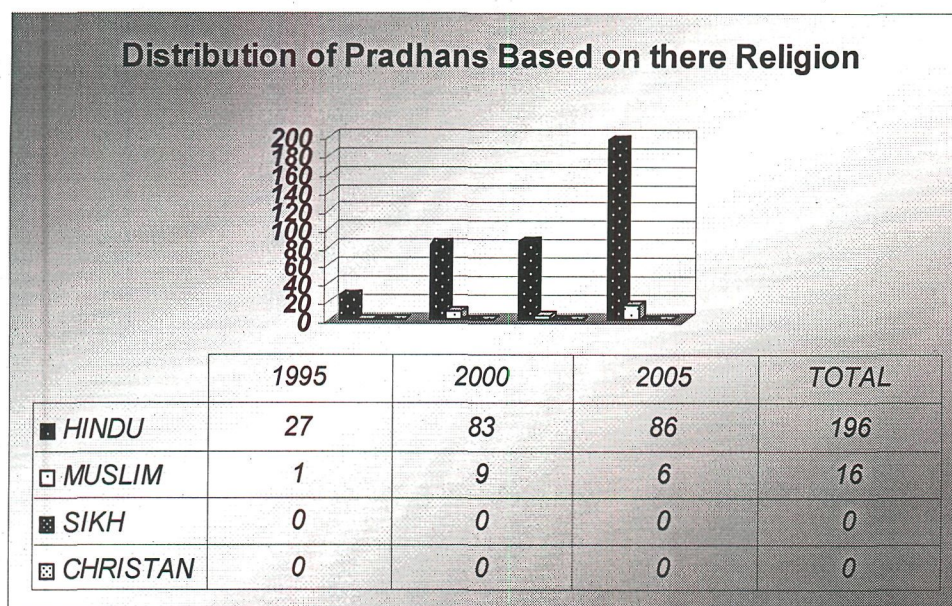
In fact, the performance in the last election, i.e., in 2005 it was really good, because 11.76 per cent women leaders had captured the open seats.



## Religion

Hindus, as a religious group dominate in the election in the States. Hindus comprise a major part of the population. Muslims, Sikhs and Christians are grouped as religious minorities. The Lodha Block is no exception. Out of the total of 212 leaders, 92.45 per cent were Hindu. Only 7.54 per cent were Muslim, while Sikhs and Christians just do not seem to live in Lodha Block. Very few members of the last two communities appear to live in Lodha block. The year-wise break-up of elected *pradhans* on the basis of religion shows that in 1997, Hindus were 96.4 per cent and Muslims 3.5 per cent. But in 2000 the Hindus were 90 per cent of the total population in Lodha, while Muslims were only 10 per cent. In 2005, the Hindus were 93.4 per cent but Muslims only 6.50 per cent.

The given graph says thus better:



This shows that religion is still a very important factor in village politics. It was also observed that where ever the ratio of the minority group is high,

the leader is from that particular minority group. As the data shows that not a single leader was from amongst the Sikhs and Christians in Lodha Block.

### Caste

Abraham<sup>39</sup> points out that political power in Indian villages is vested in the hands of higher castes and they have been making key decisions in rural areas. Shrinivas<sup>40</sup> says that caste is a significant factor. It guides the electoral behavior of the majority of people in Indian society, which is still to a large extent, traditional. Shrinivas<sup>41</sup> states that caste might be socially disintegrating but it is growing politically and dominates village politics. It is a dominating factor in the leadership pattern in rural areas. Even social thinkers have the same opinion. G.Ram Reddy<sup>42</sup>, V.M.Sirsikar<sup>43</sup>, B.S.Khanna<sup>44</sup>, S.N.Mishra<sup>45</sup>, Iqbal Narain<sup>46</sup> and A.Y.Darshankar<sup>47</sup> think on similar lines.

Respondents were divided into three categories for the purpose of the study: the upper castes, the backward castes and the scheduled castes. The

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<sup>39</sup> Francis Abraham, Dynamics of Leadership in village in India, Allahabad, India International. 1974.

<sup>40</sup> M.N.Srinivas, Social Change in Modern India, Berkely, University of California Press, 1966.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> G.Ram Reddy, *panchayati raj*- A Case study of Block Administration in Andhra Pradesh, Haderabad, NIRD, 1972, pp.74-78

<sup>43</sup> V.M.Sirsikar, Leadership Pattern in Rural Maharashtra, Ashian survey, vol- IV, No., July 1964, pp.929-39.

<sup>44</sup> B.S.Khanna, Village Institutions in Panjab, New Delhi, Government of India, Planning Commition, RPC, 1969, PP.13-17

<sup>45</sup> S.N.Mishra, Pattern of Emerging Leadership in Rural India, Patna, Associated, 1977 p.242.

<sup>46</sup> Iqbal Narain and Others, Rural Elite and Election in an Indian State, New Delhi, National, 1976, pp. 35-43

<sup>47</sup> A.Y.Darshankar, Leadership in *panchayati raj*, Jaipur, Panchsheel, 1979, p.190-191.

upper castes included the *Brahmans* and *Rajputs* etc., the backward castes included the washer men and blacksmith etc. and the scheduled castes includes all scheduled castes as defined by the Constitution of India.

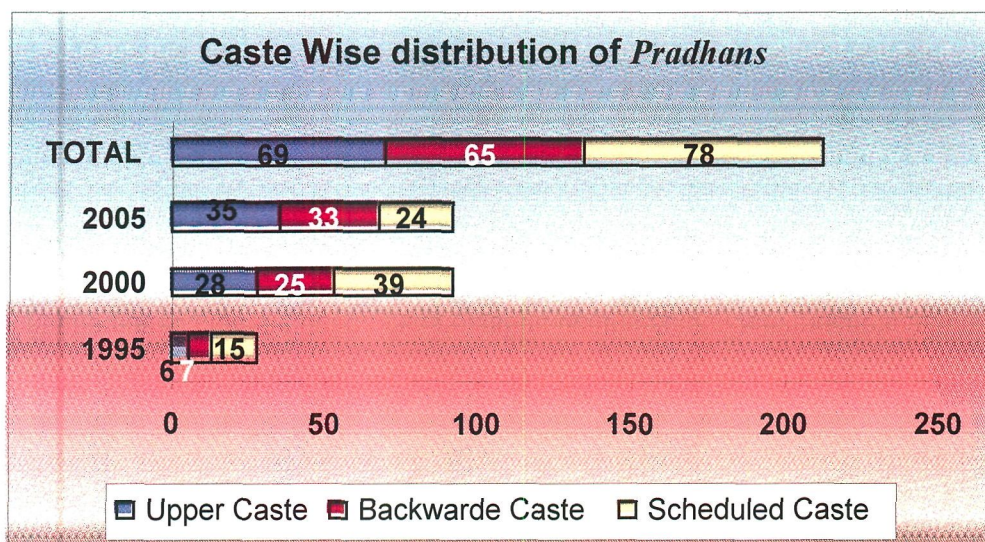
It was found from the data that a majority of the leaders, i.e., 36.70 per cent were from the scheduled caste followed by the upper castes who were 32.50 per cent .The backward castes were 30.60 per cent

In 1995, out of 28 *gram panchayat* leaders, 21.40 per cent were from upper caste, 25 per cent from backward castes and 53.50 per cent were from the scheduled caste.

Then in 2000, out of 92 elected representatives of *gram panchayats* in Lodha Block, 30.40 per cent were from upper castes, 27.10 per cent from backward castes and 42.330 per cent from the scheduled castes.

And in 2005, out of 92 elected representatives of *gram panchayats* in Lodha Block, 38 per cent were from upper castes, 35.80 from backward castes and 26 per cent were from schedules castes.

This has been shown in the graph given below :



It graph shows that there is a continuous fall in the percentage of scheduled castes leaders, but, side by side there is a continuous increment in the percentage of backward caste leaders. The upper castes also show continuous improvement in their performance.

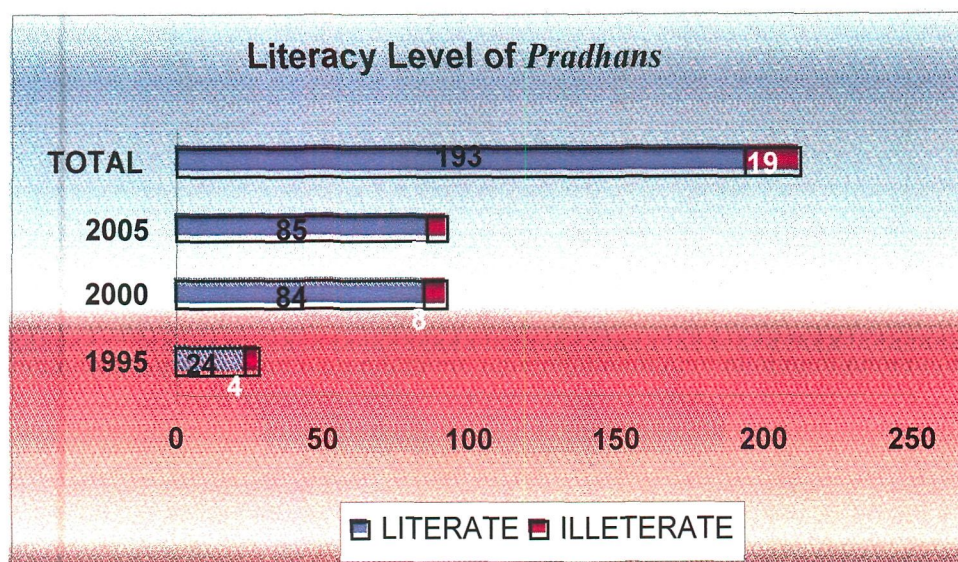
Therefore, there is no doubt in saying that the upper castes still have a major share of political power in their hands, i.e., 32.50 per cent as an overall percentage, but, on the backward castes and schedule castes too together have 67.3 per cent of total seats of the *gram panchayats* of Lodha Block.

The data then again shows a reverse on the past when *panchayats* just a few upper caste people managed to rule over the majority of the population. Democracy then, appears to be taking root. Every one should now equal opportunity in politics in rural local self government.



## Literacy

Before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, no one bothered about the education of the leaders had because there were other matters though more important. Factors like age, cast,e land-holding were looked at as the studies of Rangnath<sup>48</sup>, Parmatma Saran<sup>49</sup> and Shiv Ratan Mehat<sup>50</sup> abundantly establish and show that as a consequence most leaders were uneducated. Out of the total of 212 respondents, the number of literate respondents was 193, and 19 being illiterate. In 1995,. The state of literacy was 85.70 per cent out of 28 respondents, then in 2000 it was 91.30 per cent out of 92 respondents, and in 2005 it was 92.30 per cent again out of 92 respondents. This shows that there was a continuous rise in the percentage of literate leaders in the *panchayat* elections.



<sup>48</sup> Ranga Nath, Changing Pattern of Rural Leadership in Uttar Pradesh, Shindu Publications Ltd., E-6 Hauz Khas, New Delhi-10016, 1974.

<sup>49</sup> Parmatama Saran, Rural Leadership in context of India's Modernization, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. New Delhi, 1978.

<sup>50</sup> Shiv Ratan Mehata, Emerging Pattern of Rural Leadership, Wiley Estern Pvt.Ltd., J, 41 South Extention-1, New Delhi-49, 1972.

This situation is totally different from the situation before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment when a majority of the respondents were illiterate, and, it was thought that education had nothing to do with leadership. But the present data shows that the number of educated leaders is increasing in every election since 1995.

### **Level of Education**

Education plays a key role in shaping the leadership pattern in a democratic society. The studies of S.R.Mehata<sup>51</sup>, S.S.Sharma<sup>52</sup>, *Rajender Singh*<sup>53</sup>, Oscar Lewis<sup>54</sup>, and Iqbal Narain<sup>55</sup> reveal that education has a positive correlation with rural leadership. On the other hand, scholars like D.S.Chaudhry<sup>56</sup>, and Ranganath<sup>57</sup> find no relationship between education and rural leadership.

It was found by the surveys for the present thesis that 193, i.e., 91.03 per cent of leaders were literate. Out of these 24.52 per cent were educated up to 5<sup>th</sup> class, 14 up to 8<sup>th</sup> class, 23.11 per cent up to 10<sup>th</sup>, and 12.73 per cent up to the 12<sup>th</sup>, 11.32 per cent were graduates; and 5.66 per cent post graduates.

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<sup>51</sup> S.R.Mehata, *Emerging Pattern of Rural Leadership*, New Delhi, Wiley Eastern, 1972, p.71

<sup>52</sup> S.S.Sharma, *Rural Elite in India*, New Delhi, Sterling, 1979, pp.189-90.

<sup>53</sup> *Rajender Singh*, *Village Leadership*, Delhi, Sterling, 1967, p.75.

<sup>54</sup> Oscar Lewis, *Village Life in Northern India*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1954, p.34.

<sup>55</sup> Iqbal Narain and others, *The Rural Elite in an Indian State- A case Study of Rajasthan*, New Delhi, Manohar, 1976, pp.28-30.

<sup>56</sup> D.S.Chaudhary, *Emerging Rural Leadership in an Indian State*, Rohatak, Manthan, 1981, p.54.

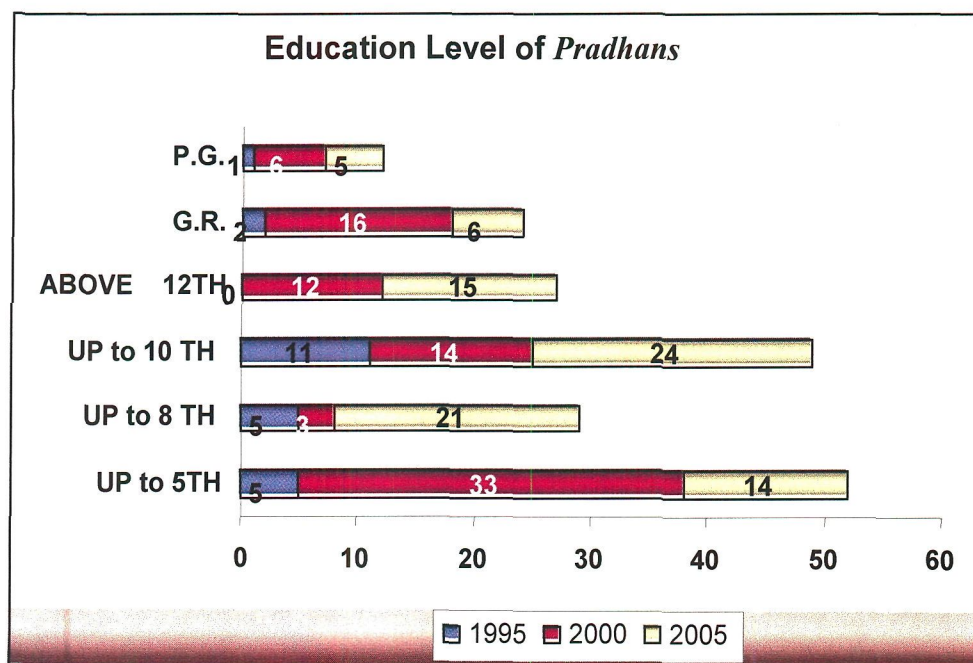
<sup>57</sup> Ranga Nath, *Changing Pattern of Rural Leadership in Uttar Pradesh*, Shindu Publications Ltd., E-6 Hauz Khas, New Delhi-10016, 1974, pp.72-120.

The year-wise break-up of respondents shows that in 1995,. Out of the total of 24 literate leaders, 21 per cent were educated upto the 5<sup>th</sup> class, 20.81 per cent upto 8<sup>th</sup>, and 45.80 per cent upto the 10<sup>th</sup>. No one was an intermediate. 8.33 per cent were graduates and 4.10 per cent post-graduates.

In 2000, out of the total of 84 literate leaders, 39.28 per cent were educated upto 5<sup>th</sup> class, 3.50 per cent 8<sup>th</sup>, and 16.66 per upto the 10<sup>th</sup>. 14.28 per cent intermediate, 19 per cent graduates, and 7.14 per cent post-graduates.

And in last elections in 2005, out of 85 literate leaders, 16.40 per cent were educated upto the 5<sup>th</sup> class, 24.70 per cent upto 8<sup>th</sup>, 28.20 per cent, upto the 10<sup>th</sup>, and 17.60 per cent were intermediate, 7 per cent graduates, and 5.80 per cent post-graduates.

This has been shown with the help of the graph given below:



This data in total contrast to the traditional set-up of the rural leadership where it was rare to see some educated *pradhans*. Now we have *pradhans* with high university degrees.

### **Occupation of the Panchayat Leaders**

Occupation not only has economic connotations but other overturns particular that provide a social and political perspective. Before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment various studies had said that most village leaders had an agriculture background Parmatmas Saran<sup>58</sup> and H.S.Dhillon<sup>59</sup> show that ownership of land was generally considered the principle source of power and prestige in the Indian village community.

Therefore, it is not surprising that a large number of respondents that is, 49.05 per cent are engaged in farming. This indicates that land-ownership is still a significant factor in village leadership. But if the other portion of the Census data is looked at then it informed that 4.20 per cent respondents work in the private sector, 9.90 per cent are businessman, 1.40 per cent are labourers, 33.90 per cent are house wives, and 0.94 are retirees.

Out of the total of 28 *gram panchayat* leaders in 1995, 57.10 per cent were engaged in farming, 3.50 per cent in private jobs, 14.20 did business. None

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<sup>58</sup> Parmatama Saran, Rural Leadership in context of India's Modernization, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. New Delhi, 1978. p.57.

<sup>59</sup> H.S.Dhillon, Study of Leadership and Groups in a South Indian Village, 1955, p.51.

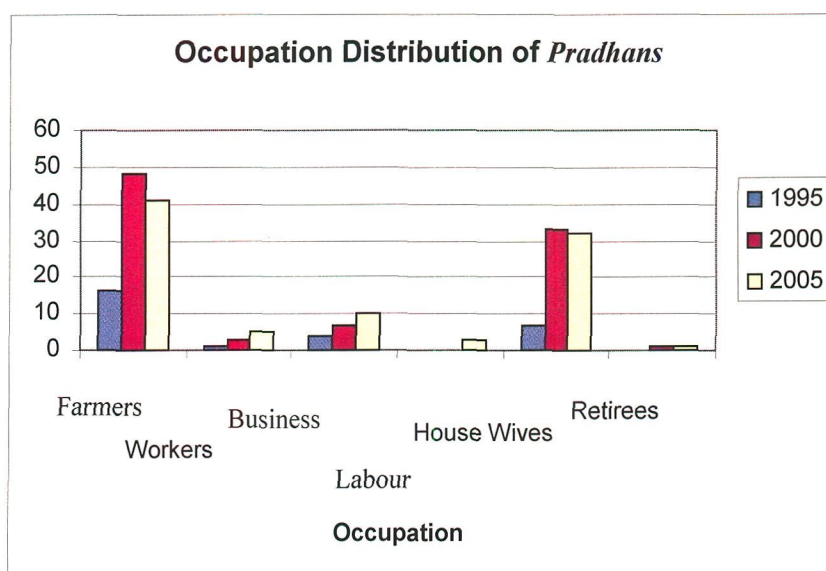


were from labour group. 25 per cent were house wives but there was no one from among th retirees.

In 2000, out of the total 92 elected village leaders, 52.10 per cent were engaged in farming, 3.20 per cent in private jobs, 7.60 per cent were doing business. No one was from the labour group, 35.80 per cent were house wives and 1 per cent from retirees.

Finally, in the 2005 elections, out of the total 92 elected village leaders, 43.40 per cent were engaged in farming, 5.40 per cent did private work, 10.80 per cent did business, 3.20 were engaged in labour work, and 34.70 per cent were house wives only 1 per cent were retirees.

This is As shown with the help of the given graph below :



The graph shows that a drastic change is taking place in village leadership. Private sector workers are also participating in the village politics, so are village businessmen. The most important change is the participation of the labour class, and people from out of this group becoming village leaders,

from, earlier, they went completely unrepresented. Indeed, it was a dream come true for them, as well as, for Indian democracy. Again, for women representation the change was very significant, because, they too were not at all well-represented in the past. Men had dominated village politics. However now their traditional dominance was being challenged. Finally, retirees too appear to be participating in village development.

### Income

Income is considered as an important criterion for determining the leadership pattern in Indian society. The studies of D.S.Chaudhary<sup>60</sup>, S.R.Mehata<sup>61</sup>, Kedar Singh<sup>62</sup>, S.S.Sharma<sup>63</sup>, Francis Abraham<sup>64</sup> and M.N.Shrinewas<sup>65</sup> have shown the importance of a political aspirant being sound financially if he or she wants rural leadership. Those that sound financially are the influential social actors in village politics. Most rural leaders in *panchayati raj* Institutions are from financially sound families. Only a few studies like those of V.M.Sirsikar<sup>66</sup>, Iqbal Narain<sup>67</sup>,

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<sup>60</sup> D.S.Chaudhary, *Emerging Rural Leadership in an Indian State*, Rohatak, Manthan, 1981, p.55.

<sup>61</sup> S.R.Mehata, *Emerging Pattern of Rural Leadership*, Willy Eastern, New Delhi, p.70

<sup>62</sup> Kedar Singh, *Rural Democratisation*, X-Rayed, Ghaziabad, Vimal, 1974, p.128.

<sup>63</sup> S.S.Sharma, *Rural Elite in India*, Sterling, New Delhi, 1979, pp.189-190.

<sup>64</sup> Francis Abraham, *Dynamics of Leadership in village in India*, Allahabad, India International, 1974, p.92.

<sup>65</sup> M.N.Shrinewas, *Social Change in Modern India*, Berkly, University of California Press, 1966, p. 34.

<sup>66</sup> V.M.Sirsikar, *Leadership Pattern in Rural Maharashtra*, Ashian survey, vol- IV, No., July 1964, pp.929-39.

<sup>67</sup> Iqbal Narain and others, *The Rural Elite in an Indian State- A case Study of Rajasthan*, New Delhi, Manohar, 1976, pp.35-43.

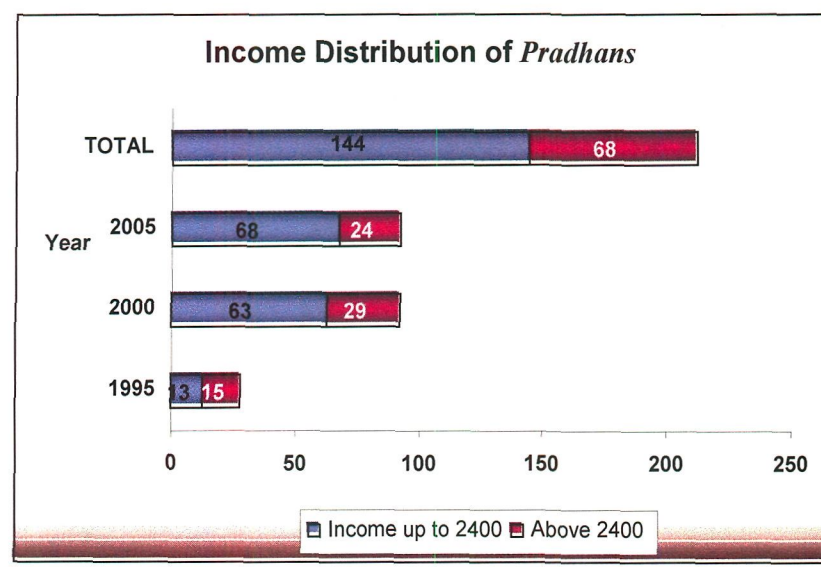
S.N.Mishra<sup>68</sup> and O.P.Sharma say that even persons in the lower and middle income groups can also achieve power and position in rural areas.

in the present thesis classified two income groups. The first group respondents Rs. 2400 per month and the second respondents earn more than Rs.2400 per month. From the total of 212 respondent leaders, 67.40 per cent had an income up to Rs.2400 per month, while 32.07 per cent had an income more than Rs.2400 per month,

Looking at it year-wise, in 1995, 46.40 *per cent* earned up to Rs.2400 per month and 53.50 per cent earned more than Rs.2400 per month.

Then in 2000, 68.40 per cent earned up to Rs.2400 per month and 31.50 per cent earned more than Rs.2400 per month. And in 2005, 72.80 per cent earned up to Rs.2400 per month and 26 per cent earned more than Rs.2400 per month.

This has been shown through the help of a graph Given below :



<sup>68</sup> S.N.Mishra, Pattern of Emerging Leadership in Rural India, Patna, Associated, 1977, p. 120.

Out of the total of 212 respondents 67.40 per cent have less than Rs.2400 per month. This is interesting because studying the occupations of village leadership it was found that 49.05 per cent of the leaders are farmers but this does not mean that they are also economically well-off and own land. This again contrasts with the traditional set of village leaders most of whom were economically well-off. Another point to notice is that there is a continuous increase in the income group who earn up-to 2400 per month. This is also a sign of a healthy democracy emerging since the lower income-group also appears participation in the political activities of their village.

On the whole it can be said that money, land and wealth did not remain important factors for leadership positions in village politics.

### **Political Party Affiliations of Rural Leadership**

Iqbal Narain and others<sup>69</sup> have indicated a positive correlation between political party affiliation and leadership in rural local bodies.

Out of the total 212 respondents only 35.30 per cent leaders had any political background, i.e., they were not members of any political party.

In 1995, out of 28 leaders, 28.50 per cent were members of political parties, while 67.80 per cent were not. Then in 2000, out of the total of 92, only 38 per cent were members of any political parties, while 61.90 per cent were

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<sup>69</sup> Iqbal Narain and others, *The Rural Elite in an Indian State- A case Study of Rajasthan*, New Delhi, Manohar, 1976, p.52.



not. And in 2005 out of the total of 92 leaders, 34.70 per cent were member of political parties while 64.10 per cent were not.

This has been shown with the help of the following graph:

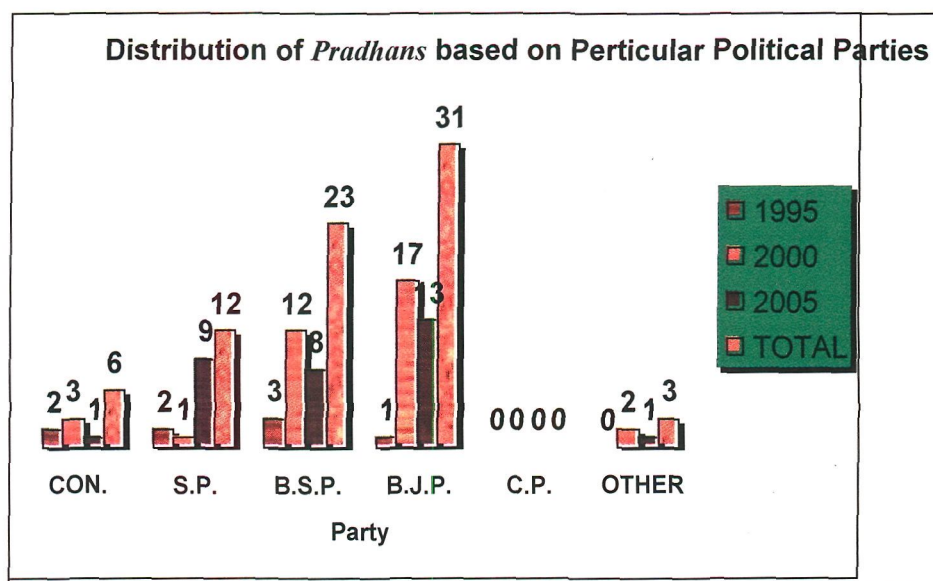


Therefore, 63.69 per cent leaders had no political affiliation, were not members of political parties.. This reveals two important facts, that in the present sample, leaders were either members of *panchayat* institutions in the past, no of other political institutions such as political parties. So, it could be said that political parties are not as active at the village level since only only 35.30 per cent leaders said that they were members of a political party. It seems that even though leaders were generally active, their participation in political organization self was minimal.

### **Affiliation to a Particular Political Party**

Thus, only 35.30 per cent village leaders had any political affiliation. Out of this, the highest percentage at 41.30 per cent, belonged to the Bharatya

Janta Party; followed by the Bahhujansamaj Party with 30.60 per cent and the Samajwade Party with 16 per cent. Only 8 per cent were with the Congress and just 4 per cent with other parties.



Out of the 8 leaders who were members of any political parties in 1995, 25 per cent were affiliated to Congress, 25 per cent to Samajwadi Party, 37.50 per cent to Bahujan Samaj Party, and, 12.50 to Bharateya Janta Party.

Then in 2000, out of 35 leaders who were members of any political party, 8.550 per cent were affiliated to Congress, 2.80 per cent to Samajwadi Party, 34.20 per cent to Bahujan Samaj Party, 48.50 per cent to Bharateya Janta Party and just 5.71 per cent to other Parties.

And in 2005, out of 32 leaders who were members of any political party, 3.10 per cent were affiliated to Congress, 28.10 per cent to Samajwadi Party, 25 per cent to Bahujan Samaj Party, 40.60 per cent to Bharateya Janta Party, and just 3.10 per cent were affiliated to other Parties.

The most noticeable point in this data is that the ruling party, i.e., Samajwadi Party is not in domination. Also, that the Congress which ruled at the Center, also does not have a significant affiliation. This shows a positive trend in village politics, where none of the ruling parties were in the lead.

These changes are almost drastic in various senses; the old power-structure is gradually giving way to a new structure of power in the rural community. The traditional village leaders are either undertaking new functions or adjusting with the emerging patterns or are being replaced after being rendered ineffective. The new forces are specifically effective in changing the composition of rural leadership at the village level as far as the factors of age, caste, income, land-holding and education are concerned.

- After the implementation of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, rural leadership is increasingly becoming functional. The initiative and dominance in the rural community has been taken over by the active, as well as, mature sections of the population, replacing the people belonging to the old age-group. This is a significant change. Now, it is found that a majority of rural leaders belong to the middle-aged group, though a considerable number belong to younger age-groups also. This indicates that villagers now redily accept the active leadership of the

middle and the younger age-groups. It indicates the emergence of a healthy and democratic frame of mind of the rural community.

- Gradually then, the lower caste people are also learning to wield the power, and that power drives from electoral supremacy. Thus, there are indications that in the near future leaders of lower castes will be in representation according to their numerical strength and be part of the authority-structure in the village. In this way the traditional pattern of social-hierarchy with upper caste enjoying supremacy, though still retaining some force, will gradually weaken. The backward castes will come to dominate the *panchayats*, as well as, to other institutions at the village level. In the near future then, upper caste too will move to second place in the power-hierarchy of a village. And all this will be because of the reservation policy that the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment so considerably advocates.
- Economic power, an important determinant of status in the past too, has ceased to be effective in the direct elections now held at the village level. This means that persons who are not economically well-off will be in a better position to achieve political success at higher levels of leadership. By implication this also means that persons will not just because of better incomes, continue to dominate village politics. Once again it is the policy of reservation contained in the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment which has helped clear a road for

economically backward castes to share power structure at the village level.

- Education, tending to become profession-oriented and serving as an important agency of social control, is also assuming great importance in the present context. With a massive drive for literacy and education in recent times, educated persons stand at an advantage over illiterates, and the uneducated. As a consequence of the educated group dominates the rural community. And that the number of educated leaders has increased in subsequent elections since 1995.
- It may not be out of place here to briefly consider the position of women in the context of rural leadership because of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment which has given them the great opportunity to step out of traditional road-blocks. Among the woman-folk the practice of not moving out freely and covering their face before elders still continues in the countryside. However, women are taking the extra step forward and traditional norms of the society are being re-considered. Gradually women are moving to a position from where they can challenge the age-old male domination of society.

## **Chapter- V**

### **Conclusion**

Village *panchayats* have a long history in India. Since ancient times, *panchayats* have played a key role in organising and maintaining social order in villages. These informal institutions were responsible for regulating and governing village society according to the socio-political norms of the times. With the advent of the British rule, the role of *panchayats* declined. Decentralization of governance, however, remained a major issue throughout this period. During the freedom struggle, Gandhi ji advocated the concept of village republics and village self-government. His vision was that of each village must be a republic, each self-sufficient for its own vital needs, and yet inter-dependent. In his scheme of things, the village was the centre of a super-structure of concentric circles of governance with a bottom-up approach. Unfortunately, the Constitution Drafting Committee, opposed village *panchayats* and only lip service was paid to the concept in the draft of the Constitution. When Gandhi ji became aware of this, he insisted on the inclusion of the principle of village *panchayats* and as a result of his efforts a provision was included in the Constitution's non-justiciable part called the Directive Principles of State Policy (Article 40). These Principles stated the State shall take steps to organize village *panchayats* and endow them with such power and authority as to enable them to function as units of local self-government.

To make Article 40 operational, the Balwantray Mehta Committee was appointed in 1957 to study the implementation of the *panchayati raj*. The Committee recommended the establishment of a three-tier structure of local government: *gram panchayat* at the village level, *panchayat samiti* at the block or intermediate level and *Zilla Parishad* at the district level. Following Balwantray Mehta Committee's recommendations, the *panchayati raj* System was introduced in India, in 1959, with a view to decentralise the existing democratic system and enable people at grassroot level to play an active role in self-governance. Many States introduced new elected representatives at village, intermediate and district levels. By 1959, all the States had passed *panchayat* Acts and by the mid 1960s, *panchayats* were established through out India. With this, more than 2, 17, 300 village *panchayats*, covering over 96 per cent of the 579, 000 inhabited villages and, 92 per cent of the rural population were established. However, very soon these *panchayati raj* Institutions (PRIs) started collapsing due to lack of resources, lack of political support, bureaucratic antipathy and the domination of the rural elite who cornered all the available resources. These institutions were often suspended or superseded. As a consequence, development schemes the *panchayats* played only a marginal role, having no say in decision-making and implementation. These factors delegitimised the *panchayati raj* Institutions. Thus, the *panchayati raj* system which was launched with great fanfare gradually lost steam and stagnated, leading to further investigation by yet another Committee, the Ashok

Mehta Committee. The Committee said that *panchayati raj* is the soul of democracy, and therefore, it should be empowered with more authority. The Committee suggested a two-tier model, at the district and mandal level's to cover a population of 15,000 to 20,000. The Ashok Mehta Committee recommended the abolition of the block as an administrative unit. The Chief Ministers' Conference in 1979, however, rejected the idea of the two-tier system and favoured the continuation of the three-tier system. However the process of the decline of the *panchayati raj* System started after the mid- sixties, and continued for almost the next two decades.

Meanwhile, several Committees such as the G.V.K. Rao Committee , the L.M. Singhvi Committee, and the P.K. Thungon Committee were set up to review and suggest measures to re-vitalize the *panchayati raj* System. There was a great deal of discussion and debate on revival and re-vitalization of *panchayati raj* Institutions. The issue was given serious consideration during the last days of Rajiv Gandhi's Prime Ministership. For, Rajiv Gandhi, the answer to the ills which afflict-ed the PRIs lay in our Constitution. Democracy had flourished in Delhi and at the State capitals because the Constitution made detailed provisions for the institution and protection of democracy at that these levels. However, the same Constitution treated local government in a most perfunctory manner, confining all mention of the subject to a mere three lines, and that too were



not an obligatory or mandatory part of the Constitution, but in its non-binding part, that is Part IV dealing with Directive Principle of State Policy. Therefore, the solution lay in making *panchayati raj* as much a Constitutional obligation as democracy in Parliament or the State Assemblies. An imperative need accordingly emerged to enshrine in the Constitution of India, certain basic and essential features of local self-government so as to enable local bodies to function as institutions of self-governance both in planning and implementation of development programmes. Consequently, Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act, 1992 was passed and was brought into force with effect from 24.4.1993.

With a view to making law relating to *panchayats* conform with the provisions of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act, different State governments enacted their respective Acts. According to the requirements of the provisions of the Constitution and States *panchayati* Act, different States began to establish their respective three tier *panchayati raj* Institutions and took steps for devolution of powers and functions functionary to the institutions of local self-government.

All States and Union Territories to which the Constitution (73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment) Act, 1992 applies, except Jharkhand and Pondicherry, have held elections and constituted *panchayats* in accordance with the provisions of Part IX of the Constitution. As a result of election to PRIs in

States/Union Territories, 2,34,676 *panchayats* at village level, 6,097 *panchayats* at intermediate level and 537 *panchayats* at the district level have been constituted in the country. These *panchayats* are being manned by about 21 lakh elected representatives at all levels; of these more than 40 percent are women, 16 percent belong to SCs and 11 percent belong to the STs. While many women have benefited because of the caste and other reservations, as many as 50,000 women have been elected without any reservation or quota provisions. They have contested elections against men folk and won fairly. This is the broadest representative base that exists in any country in the world.

**Number of *panchayati raj* Institutions**

SI.No.	Name of State/UT	<i>gram panchayat</i>	Intermediate <i>panchayat</i>	District <i>panchayat</i>	Total
1	Andhra Pradesh	21913	1095	22	23030
2	Arunachal Pradesh	1747	150	15	1912
3	Assam	2489	203	20	2712
4	Bihar	8471	531	38	9040
5	Chhattisgarh	9139	146	16	9301
6	Goa	190	0	2	192
7	Gujarat	13819	225	25	14069
8	Haryana	6034	114	19	6167
9	Himachal Pradesh	3037	75	12	3124
10	Jharkhand	3746	211	22	3979
11	Jamu & Kashmir	2683	0	0	2683
12	Karnataka	5659	175	27	5861
13	Kerala	991	152	14	1157
14	Madhya Pradesh	22029	313	45	22387
15	Maharashtra	28553	349	33	28935
16	Manipur	166	0	4	170

17	Meghalya	0	0	0	0
18	Mizoram	0	0	0	0
19	Nagaland	0	0	0	0
20	Orissa	6234	314	30	6578
21	Punjab	12445	140	17	12602
22	Rajasthan	9189	237	32	9458
23	Sikkim	159	0	4	163
24	Tamil Nadu	12618	385	29	13032
25	Tripura	537	23	4	564
26	<b>Uttar Pradesh</b>	<b>52028</b>	<b>813</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>52912</b>
27	Uttaranchal	7227	95	13	7335
28	West Bengal	3360	333	18	3711
29	A&N Iseland	67	7	1	75
30	Chandigarh	17	1	1	19
31	Dadar & Nagar Haveli	11	0	1	12
32	Daman & Diu	10	0	1	11
33	NCT OF Delhi	0	0	0	0
34	Lakshadweep	10	0	1	11
35	Pondicharry	98	10	0	108
	<i>Total</i>	<i>234676</i>	<i>6097</i>	<i>537</i>	<i>241310</i>

*Source: Annual Report 2005-06, Ministry of panchayati raj, Government of India*

### Leadership Positions in *panchayats*

<i>panchayat</i> Level	Number	Elected Representatives	Women %	S.C. %	S.T. %
District <i>panchayats</i>	537	11825	41	18	11
Intermediate <i>panchayats</i>	6097	110070	43	22	13
Village <i>panchayats</i>	234676	2073715	40	16	11

***Source: Annual Report 2005-06, Ministry of panchayati raj, Government of India***

The Amendment had generated lots of hope and enthusiasm throughout the country as it was looked upon as a bold step toward strengthening democratic and decentralized governance in rural areas. It has been more than a decade since the passage of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment. Therefore, it is an appropriate time for appraising the functioning of PRIs at different levels. so as to reflect on emerging trends and to identify the impediments that have emerged in the process of democratic decentralization.

In accordance with the transfer of functions to *panchayats* at all levels, the functionaries required to implement the programmes have been all assigned functions and been put at disposal of *panchayats* in varied degrees. States have given power to *panchayats* to recruit certain categories of staff required for service in their jurisdiction. Some States like Karnataka are considering establishment of a cadre of administrative and technical staff exclusively for PRIs.

Even though States have taken steps to devolve power, functions, fund and functionaries to PRIs as part of de-centralisation process they are far from satisfactory except in a few cases.

To make PRIs effective bedrocks of democracy, *gram sabhas* should be given more power. However, if one looks critically at legislative provisions across the country, one finds that the *gram sabha* has by and large been given very little importance. It has been observed that most State Acts have not spelt-out the powers of *gram sabhas* nor have any procedures been laid down for the functioning of these bodies. For instance, the law in most States prescribes at least two meetings of the *gram sabha* in an year. Unfortunately, the minimum has been interpreted as a maximum. Provision doing away with the need for quorum for adjourned meetings of the *gram sabha* has reinforced the tendency to view *gram sabha* meetings as a mere formality. *gram sabhas* are to recommend and suggest, and to consider annual accounts, administrative reports, audit notes, etc. These suggestions and recommendations of the *gram sabhas* could be ignored by the *gram panchayat*.

Of the three tiers of PRIs, *gram panchayat* is the most important tier because of its proximity to the rural population but also as it is directly involved in local governance.

The study reveals that the new Act has actually resulted in the political and social empowerment of the people in villages. Each village now has a *gram panchayat*. Seats are reserved according to the guidelines and on a rotational basis. *Panchayat* elections have regularly been held in 1995, 2000 and 2005 without delay as stipulated in the 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitution Amendment Act. The 5-year tenure is now being completed by the *panchayats*. Even though the study finds the domination of the upper castes in village politics yet this domination is found to be on a decline. Item No. 1(g), shows that of the 92 *pradhans* elected in the year 2000, 40 per cent belonged to the upper castes, 35 per cent were from the other backward castes and 23 per cent from scheduled castes. However, in the elections held in 2005, the number of *pradhans* elected from upper castes went down to 38 per cent and the number of *pradhans* elected from scheduled Castes increased to 26 per cent. The *pradhans* belonging to the other backward castes category maintained the same position in these two elections. It was also found from item No.1 (d), that in these elections a sizable number of leaders, i.e., 48 per cent were from the 26-30 and 30-40 years age-group, indicating that an aged leadership is gradually makes way for leaders of a younger age. This clearly indicates that there appears a paradigm shift in the traditional concept of rural leadership. Leadership is now passing into the hands of middle-aged as well as, younger groups. Item No.1(c), shows that women *pradhans* were 35 per cent in the year 1995, 37 per cent in 2000, and 37 per cent in 2005. This trend is in

complete contrast with the traditional village *panchayats* earlier when there was total male dominance. This apart, women representation now appears even more than the obligatory 33 per cent, which reservation for women provides under the Amendment Act, for the data shows that women representation has exceeded this mandatory reservation limit. Women now are also elected from unreserved seats as item No. 1 (f) shows. In the 1995 *panchayat* elections, only one woman was elected on an un-reserved seat, while this number increased to 3 in 2000, and to 4 in 2005. Furthermore, in 1995 women won these seats from the backward caste quota. Then in 2000, there was one each from the other backward castes and open quota. Finally, in 2005 there was one from other backward castes, two from backward caste and five from the open quota. The best performance was in 2005, when 4.95 per cent women won *panchayat* elections from open seats that is by directly challenging the male aspirants. Women are therefore, challenging what was earlier called a male bastion in village politics.

Item No.2 shows that, 91.03 per cent of *pradhans* are literate, an unthinkable situation earlier. Table No. 3 shows that, out of these literate *pradhans* the highest percentage is of those who are educated up to 5<sup>th</sup> class followed by 23 per cent up to the 10<sup>th</sup>, and then 13 per cent up to the 8<sup>th</sup> class, and after that 12 per cent up to the 12<sup>th</sup> class. There were 11.32 per cent Graduates and 5 per cent post-graduation. This situation is totally

different from the data of the traditional set of village *panchayats* where the majority of village *pradhans* were from illiterate group.

Next, from item No. 4 one finds that, nearly 49 per cent *pradhans* were farmers, followed by house-wives who were 33.90 per cent. This shows the active participation of women in village politics. And the most important thing which comes out from this item is that, 3.20 per cent *pradhans* in 2005 *panchayats* elections were from the labour class, which was not possible in the past.

Also, one clearly finds from item No. 5 that, 67 per cent of *pradhans* were from the lower income group that is those who earn less than Rs. 2400 per month.

After the 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitution Amendment, one finds a total metamorphosis so far as leadership of *gram panchayat* is concerned. Leadership in old *panchayats* was decided on the basis of caste affiliation, or size of a land-holding, or age and sex. However after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment, a paradigm shift occurs. A new and different leadership has emerged. Thus people from the lower castes, lower age-groups, the poor with no land-holding, and a large number of women have now been elected as *pradhans* in the *panchayat* elections held so far. ***As clear from item No. 1 (d) to 5 , which also proves the second objective set for the research work.***



Thus, one can say that Constitutional change has helped the marginalised sections like scheduled castes and women and has provided them political space. It has led to the emergence of women as well as deprived castes as leaders. Their participation has not only led to their personal growth but has also enabled them to respond to the needs of the more vulnerable sections of the village community. Women members and office bearers in *panchayats* today account for approximately 42 per cent of the elected representatives at an all India level.

During the survey, a majority of respondents said that the old *panchayats* were without power, functions and funds as discussed under item No.08 to 14. However *gram panchayat* constituted after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment are vested with sufficient powers, functions and funds. Roughly 93 per cent of the 28 *pradhans*, elected in 1995, who were interviewed said that the old *panchayats* were not empowered, while 7.2 per cent did not express any opinion. When the collective opinion of 212 *pradhans* was taken, 83 per cent said that the old *panchayats* were not empowered at all. The study has also revealed that old *panchayats* were not entrusted with any financial power and hence could do nothing for the development of the village. Of the 28 elected *pradhans*, in 1995, that is, those who were interviewed, 78 per cent said that *panchayats* constituted before 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment suffered from lack of funds. A similar view was expressed by the majority of *pradhans* elected in 2000 and 2005. If we take the collective opinion of the 212 *pradhans*, 85 per cent said that old *panchayats* had no financial

power and the villages could not be developed as expected by the people.

**This established the *first objective of the thesis that old panchayats were not empowered either financially or politically. The role of panchayats was minimal and their activity quite limited.***

From item No. 18 one finds that, 82.50 per cent of the elected *pradhans* responded that the representation of lower castes is high in their *panchayats*. Only 8 per cent respondents said 'no', while 9.43 per cent were indifferent. But this percentile increases if villager's opinion is taken into consideration for 82 per cent of the villagers say 'yes' to this item. Respondents who said 'no', remained at as 8 per cent, and those who were indifferent was almost same, i.e., 10 per cent.

From item No. 19 one finds that 76 per cent respondents said that he *pradhans* were from the age-group of 30-40 years. Thus, it is clear that the age group of the *pradhans* in the new *panchayats* is also younger than those in the old *panchayats*.

Then one finds from item No. 20 that 84 per cent respondents said that gender discrimination is decreasing in village leadership, while only 8 per cent said 'no' to this item.

From item No. 21 one finds that 92 per cent respondents said that the influence of land-holders is decreasing in today's village politics. Only 0.38 per cent said 'no' while 8 per cent were indifferent to this item. ***The above discussion proves the third objective of this research.***

In Items No.26 & 32, respondents said that the new *panchayats* constituted after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment have enjoyed power and function and have been entrusted with funds too if not adequately. On the subject of functioning of *gram panchayats*, 26 per cent respondents including *pradhans* and villagers expressed satisfaction from the functioning of *panchayats*, 23 per cent said that they were not satisfied with the functioning of *gram panchayats*. A huge 50 per cent respondent expressed only average satisfaction from *panchayat* functioning. 79 per cent respondents, including *pradhans* and villagers expressed the opinion that they have benefitted from the *panchayat* functioning in one way or the other. Only 12 per cent have a negative view in this regard, while 9 per cent did not respond. 89.36 per cent of the villagers said that development work was taking place and villagers are getting benefits from it. Respondents also felt that the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment takes care of the financial need of *gram panchayats*. Roughly, 38 per cent of 212 the village *pradhans* felt that the fund provided to *gram panchayat* is sufficient for the development of the village, while 11 per cent did not think so and felt that there was a need for more funds for village development. A majority of them, however, agreed that the major problem faced by village *panchayat* officials was the availability of funds on time. Item No. 30 shows that the highest percentage is of those who say that *panchayat* meetings were held twice an year, i.e., 33 per cent. This is followed by those who say more than two times, i.e., 27 per cent, and after

this 11 *per cent* are those who say three times in an year. Only 2 per cent say once an year. Then one finds from item No. 36 that 44 per cent respondents say that *panchayat* completes development work on time, but 16 per cent did not think so, while 41 per cent were indifferent to this item. Item No. 55 shows that 86 per cent respondents say that they have primary schools in their villages. Only 2 per cent say 'no'. So a majority of villages today have schools in Lodha Block. 12 per cent of the respondent did not reply. *The above discussion proves our fourth objective that is whether panchayats today function properly or not.*

From item No. 23, one finds that 83 per cent of respondents including *pradhans* and villagers, are of the opinion that the influence of bureaucrats in matters of *panchayat* functioning is declining today. Their interference is less frequent and power is passing to the hands of *panchayat* officials now. But, 9 per cent say that bureaucrats still interfere, while 8 per cent had no opinion.

From item No. 27 one finds that villagers are getting benefitted from different government programmes as 27 per cent villagers were of the opinion that *Sampoorna gramen Rozgar Yojna* was running, and 13 per cent were in favour of *Suwarn Jayanti gram Swarrozgr Yojna*. 24 per cent village respondents benefitted from *Pradhan Mantri gram Sadak Yojna*, 39 per cent from *Indira Awas Yojna*, 7 per cent were in favour of *Pradhn*

*Mantri gram-udai Yojna*. Only 5 per cent got benefitted from other schemes.

Then from item No. 38 one finds that 43 per cent of respondent have the opinion that *panchayat* is active in minor works like repair of hand-pumps, repair of school buildings etc.. Only 11 per cent say 'no' in response. But if we take villages and elected representatives responses separately then we find that only 6.38 per cent villagers are in favour, while 50.9 per cent in case of the elected representatives in the *panchayat* say 'yes'. ***The above discussion proves our fifth objective of our study.***

From item item No. 64,65,66,67 and 68 one gets to know that the level of women participation in *panchayati raj* Institutions is increasing after the 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitution Amendment. 52 per cent of the respondents think that women development could be accelerated at village level through reservations of seats for them. Only 16 per cent did not think so, while 32 per cent respondent were indifferent to this item. ***The above discussion proves the sixth objective of this research.***

From item No. 25 one gets to know that various development committees have been active in villages. Then from item No. 28 one clearly finds that villagers actively participate in village development activities. 27 per cent respondents say, that *panchayat* had talked to them regarding the village development. 16 per cent,

say that no one had talked to them, while 57 per cent were indifferent to this item. And from item No. 34 it appears that 61 per cent respondents said that *panchayat* ensures the participation of B.C.s, O.B.C.s and S.C.s in village development programmes. This is due they says to the compulsions of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment. Only 13 per cent said that no one bothers about the B.C.s, O.B.C.s and S.C.s or their presence in *panchayats*. The voice from these castes is still not noticeable, participation is just to complete a formality imposed by the Constitution. And from item No. 35 it is further clear that opposition is active, since, 64 per cent respondents have the view that this is due to the fact that after 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment the political scenario has totally changed. In village politics, active people are well aware about their rights and they are utilizing those rights at least at village level. Only 8 per cent respondent did not think so, while 27 per cent respondents were indifferent to this item. ***The above discussion proves our seventh objective of study.***

From item No. 70, 71, 72, 73, and 74 one can clearly understand about the functioning of village *panchayats*. It is clear from item No.71 that 62 per cent village leaders say that they regularly check the work of A.N.M. and Aganwadi, 4 per cent say that since they do not have direct control over them, there is no use for checking them. 34 per cent were indifferent to this item.

In response to item No. 72, 50 per cent respondents say that *panchayat* meetings are generally held on time and they participate in it. Item No. 74 shows that 48 per cent respondents say that the *panchayats* meeting notice is sent on time and people are well aware about the meeting. Only 4 per cent respondents say that prior information of meeting is not in time, and even that it is never given. 47 per cent respondents were indifferent. *The above discussion proves our eighth objective of study.*

From item No.s 39,40,41,42,43,44,45,46,47,48,49,50,51,52,53, and 54 one finds that *panchayats* after 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment are much more active than before. *The above discussion proves our ninth objective for study.*

From item No.s 77,78,79,80,81,82 and 83, one gets to know that the *panchayats* are fulfilling the people's dream of a true democracy, since 61 per cent of respondents agreed that *panchayati raj* today is fulfilling the dreams of the people at grassroot level. Only 16 per cent said 'no', while 23 per cent were indifferent to this item. Respondents thought that *panchayats* today provided a strong leadership to the nation since 61 per cent of respondents say that *panchayat* today is grooming the country's political leadership as *panchayat* have a three-tier administrative system which provide leadership at village, block and district level. Only 17 per

cent respondent did not agree with this view. 23 per cent respondents were indifferent to this item. Again one finds that 57.44 per cent villagers were indifferent to this item.

Then from item No. 80, one gets to know that *panchayats* today provide equality to all at grass-root level, since 67 per cent respondents are of the opinion that *panchayat raj* is successful in providing equal rights to every person in society. Only 10 per cent say 'no' to this item. Again we find that 57.44 per cent of the villagers did not respond to this item. *The above discussion proves our last and tenth objective of study.*

Consequent to the 73rd Constitution Amendment Act political decentralization has taken place in almost all the States where elections have been held. As the field study shows that the objective of creating a strong base of political empowerment of people at the grass-root level by and large has been achieved. However, the spirit of the Constitution Amendment goes beyond more political empowerment. The essence is that the elected representatives should be able to function as units of rural local self- government. So, the emphasis is to empower them with certain functional mandates, give them a significant degree of autonomy, and impart to them an element of self-reliance and self-sufficiency through transfer of functions, fiscal transfers, taxation powers and tax assignments.



However, we find that progress on fiscal and functional de-centralization and transfer of functions has been mixed. There are States which have taken steps to devolve funds and functions and functionaries to the PRIs. As this field study shows that Uttar Pradesh which has had little experience of de-centralization has made the most fundamental changes in this regard and has registered considerable progress at every level. However, still much has to be achieved and to make these institutions really self-governing.

The challenge of making this new phase of democratic de-centralization successful depends on the commitment of the political leadership, bureaucracy, as well as the people themselves. State governments have the responsibility of transferring schemes as provided in the XI Schedule of the Constitution and also of transferring corresponding funds to the *panchayats*. Similarly, the staff available for the implementation of schemes related to these subjects should also be placed under the control of the *panchayats*.

To quote Manii Shankar Aiyar, the Minister for *panchayati raj*-

Well, it has taken 12 years to establish these institutions in the country, and it would take at least a decade to ensure their smooth functioning. I am willing to wait, I am not saying that we have a magic wand which would have panchayati raj up and running in a minute, but I am willing to wait as we are making progress and there would be results.

## **ANEXTURE-I**

### **THE CONSTITUTION (SEVENTY-THIRD AMENDMENT)<sup>70</sup>**

#### **PART IX THE PANCHAYATS**

##### **Definitions**

- 243.** (a) "district" means a district in a State;
- (b) "Gram Sabha" means a body consisting of persons registered in the electoral rolls relating to a village comprised within the area of Panchayat at the village level.
- (c) "intermediate level" means a level between the village and district levels specified by the Governor of a State by public notification to be the intermediate level for the purposes.
- (d) "Panchayat" means an institution (by whatever name called) of self-government constituted under article 243B, for the rural areas;
- (e) "Panchayat area" means the territorial area of a Panchayat;
- (f) "population" means the population as ascertained at the last preceding census of which the relevant figures have been published;
- (g) "village" means a village specified by the Governor by public notification to be a village for the purpose of this Part and includes a group of villages so specified.

##### **Gram Sabha.**

- 243A.** A Gram Sabha may exercise such powers and perform such functions at the village level as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide.

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<sup>70</sup> "Main Points of Bill no.158-c as passed by Lok Sabha on 22<sup>nd</sup> December, 1992

### **Constitution of Panchayats**

- 243B (1) There shall be constituted in every State, Panchayats at the village, intermediate and district levels in accordance with the provisions of this Part.
- (2) Notwithstanding anything in clause (1), Panchayats at the intermediate level may not be constituted in a State having a population not exceeding twenty lakhs.

### **Composition of Panchayats**

- 243C. (1) Subject to the provision of this Part, the Legislature of a State may, by law, make provisions with respect to the composition of Panchayats:
- Provided that the ratio between the population of the territorial area of Panchayat at any level and the number of seats in such Panchayat to be filled by election shall, so far as practicable, be the same throughout the State.
- (2) All the seats in a Panchayat shall be filled by persons chosen by direct election from territorial constituencies in the Panchayat area and, for this purpose, each Panchayat shall be divided into territorial constituencies in such manner that the ratio between the population of each constituency and the number of seats allotted to it shall, so far as practicable, be the same throughout the Panchayat area.

### **Reservation of seats**

243D. (1) Seats shall be reserved for--

(a) The Scheduled Castes; and (b) the Scheduled Tribes,  
in every Panchayat and the number of seats so reserved shall  
bear, as nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total  
number of seats to be filled by direct election in that  
Panchayat as the population of the Scheduled Castes in  
that Panchayat area or of the Scheduled Tribes in that  
Panchayat area or of the Scheduled Tribes in that Panchayat  
area bears to the total population of that area and such seats  
may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in  
a Panchayat.

(2) Not less than one-third of the total number of seats reserved  
under clause (1) shall be reserved for women belonging to the  
scheduled Castes or, as the case may be, the Scheduled Tribes.

(3) Not less than one-third (including the number of seats  
reserved for women belong to the Scheduled Castes and  
the Scheduled Tribes) of the total number of seats to be  
filled by direct election in every Panchayat shall be reserved  
for women and such seats may be allotted by rotation to  
different constituencies in a Panchayat.

(4) The office of the Chairpersons in the Panchayats at the  
village or any other level shall be reserved for the  
Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and women in  
Such manner as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide:  
Provided that the number of offices of Chairpersons reserved for  
the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the Panchayats

**Duration of Panchayats, etc.**

243E. (1) Every Panchayat, unless sooner dissolved under any law for the time being in force, shall continue for five years from the

date appointed for its first meeting and no longer.

(3) An election to constitute a Panchayat shall be completed--

(a) Before the expiry of its duration specified in clause (1);

(b) Before the expiration of a period of six months from the date of its dissolution:

**Disqualifications for membership.**

243F. (1) A person shall be disqualified for being chosen as, and for being, a member of a Panchayat--

(a) If he is so disqualified by or under any law for the time being in force for the purposes of elections to the Legislature of the State concerned:

Provided that no person shall be disqualified on the ground that he is less than twenty-five years of age, if he has attained the age of twenty-one years;

**Powers, authority and responsibilities of Panchayats.**

243G. Subject to the provisions of the Constitution, the Legislature of a State may, by law, endow the Panchayats with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions of self-government and such law may contain provisions for the devolution of powers and responsibilities upon Panchayats at the appropriate level, subject to such conditions as may be specified there in, with respect to--

- (a) The preparation of plans for economic development and social justice;
- (b) The implementation of schemes for economic development and social justice as may be entrusted to them including those in relation to the matters listed in the Eleventh Schedule.

**Powers to impose taxes by and Funds of, the Panchayats.**

243H. The Legislature of a State may, by law,--

- (a) authorise a Panchayat to levy, collect and appropriate such taxes, duties, tolls and fees in accordance with such procedure and subject to such limits;
- (b) Assign to a Panchayat such taxes, duties tolls and fees levied and collected by the State Government for such purposes and subject to such conditions and limits;
- (c) Provide for making such grants-in-aid to the Panchayats
- (d) From the Consolidated Fund of the State; and
- (e) Provide for constitution of such Funds for crediting all moneys received, respectively, by or on behalf of the Panchayats and also for the withdrawal of such moneys there from, as may be specified in the law.

**Constitution of Finance Commission to review financial position.**

243-I (1) The Governor of a State shall, as soon as may be within one year from the commencement of the Constitution (Seventy-third Amendment) Act, 1992, and thereafter at the expiration of every fifth year, constitute a Finance Commission to review the financial position of the

Panchayats and to make recommendations to the Governor.

**Audit of accounts of Panchayats.**

243J. The Legislature of a State may, by law, make provisions with respect to the maintenance of accounts by the Panchayats and the auditing of such accounts.

**Elections to the Panchayats.**

243K. (1) The superintendence, direction and control of the preparation of electoral rolls for, and the conduct of, all elections to the Panchayats shall be vested in a State Election Commission consisting of a State Election Commissioner to be appointed by the Governor.

**Amendment of article 280.**

- (3) In clause (3) of article 280 of the Constitution, after sub-clause (b), the following sub-clause shall be inserted, namely:-
- (bb) the measures needed to augment the Consolidated Fund of a State to supplement the resources of the Panchayats in the State on the basis of the recommendations made by the Finance Commission of the State;".

**Addition of Eleventh Schedule.**

**(Article 243G)**

1. Agriculture, including agricultural extension.
2. Land improvement, implementation of land reforms, land consolidation and soil conservation.

3. Minor irrigation, water management and watershed development.
4. Animal husbandry, dairying and poultry.
5. Fisheries.
6. Social forestry and farm forestry.
7. Minor forest produce.
8. Small scale industries, including food processing industries.
9. Khadi, village and cottage industries.
10. Rural housing.
11. Drinking water.
12. Fuel and fodder.
13. Roads, culverts, bridges, ferries, waterways and other means of communication.
14. Rural electrification, including distribution of electricity.



## ANEXTURE-II

Following the Indian Constitutional 73<sup>rd</sup> amendment Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly had also amendment its 1947 Panchayati raj act in 1995 and 1999. Which assigns 30 functions to the gram Panchayats. These cover a wide range of activity like:-

- Agriculture
- Industry
- Land reforms
- Soil
- Conservation
- Water management
- Water shade management
- Road and bridges
- Rural housing
- Rural electrification
- Education
- Culture
- Sports
- health
- sanitation
- Child health and nutrition
- Drinking Water
- Social Welfare
- Welfare of Weaker Sections especially Scheduled Casts and Scheduled Tribes
- Public distribution system etc.

In most of these areas the role assigned to them is that of promoting and assisting in the implementation of programmes and government efforts in these areas.

It is only in a few areas that gram Panchayat may initiate activities. These are enumerated in Section 15 of the act as follows:

- Development of waste land and grazing land and preventing their unauthorized alienation and use.
- Construction repair and maintenance of minor irrigation projects, regulation of supply of water for irrigation purposes.
- Development of fisheries in the village.
- Planting and preserving trees on the sides of roads and public lands.

- Distribution of house sites and maintenance of records relating to them.
- Construction, repair and maintenance of public wells, tanks, and ponds for supply of water for drinking, washing bathing, and regulation of sources of water supply for drinking purposes.
- Development of grasses and plants for fuel and fodder.
- Control on irregular transfer of fodder land.
- Construction and maintenance of village roads, bridges and ferries and culverts.
- Maintenance of waterways.
- Removal of encroachment on public places.
- Provision for, and maintenance of, lighting of public streets and other places.
- Establishment and maintenance of libraries and reading rooms.
- Organizing cultural seminars on different festivals.
- Establishment and maintenance of rural clubs for sports.
- Regulation of meals, markets and hats in Panchayat area.
- Registering births, deaths and marriages.
- Preparation of plan for economic development of the area of the gram Panchayat.

### **Powers and Functions of Gram Sabha:**

The Gram Sabha is required to consider the following matters and make recommendations and suggestion to the Gram Panchayat:

"(a) annual statement of accounts of the Gram Panchayat, the report of administration of

the preceding financial year and the last audit note and replies, if any, thereto;

(b) the report in respect of development programmes of the Gram Panchayat relating to the preceding year and the development programmes proposed to be undertaken during the current financial year;

(c) the promotion of unity and harmony among all sections of society in the village;

(d) programmes of adult education within the village;

(e) such other matters as may be prescribed" [Section 11 (3)]

4.2.2 Membership of Gram Panchayat: Gram Panchayat consists of a Pradhan "elected by persons registered in the electoral rolls for the territorial constituencies of the Panchayat area from among themselves," and nine to fifteen members varying according to the population of the Panchayat as follows:

"(i) (upto one thousand), nine members;

(ii) more than one thousand but not more than two thousand, eleven members;

(iii) more than two thousand but not more than three thousand, thirteen members;

(iv) more than three thousand, fifteen members."

4.2.3 Members of the Gram Panchayat are elected from territorial constituencies created in such manner that each member of the Panchayat represents, as far as practicable, the same number of people.

4.2.4 Reservation of seats in the Gram Panchayat: According to Section 5(a) of the Act, seats in the Gram Panchayat are reserved for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes in proportion to their respective population in the Panchayat area, subject to a ceiling of twenty seven percent of total seat for the Other Backward Classes. Of the seats reserved for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes, not less than one-third of the total number of seats are to be reserved for women belonging to these respective groups. Furthermore, in terms of section 5(c), Not less than one- third of the total number of seats in the Gram Panchayat, including these reserved for women belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes, are reserved for women. All the reserved seats are allotted by rotation to different territorial constituencies in a Gram Panchayat.

4.2.5 Term of the Gram Panchayat: Unless dissolved earlier, the Gram Panchayat has a term of five years, from the date of its first meeting and no longer. An election to constitute a Gram Panchayat is required to be completed before the end of its term. In case it is dissolved earlier than five years then a new Gram Panchayat is to be elected within six months of the date of its dissolution, except when the remainder of the period for which the dissolved Gram Panchayat would have continued is less than six months. Section 95 (1)(f) of the UP Panchayat Raj Act, 1947 gives the power to the State Government to dissolve any Gram Panchayat if, in its opinion, it has "abused its position or has continuously failed to perform

the duties imposed upon it by or under...(the UP Panchayat Raj) Act or if its continuance is not considered desirable in public interest". Though the last part of this sub-section may appear to give a blanket power of dissolution to the State Government, the obligation to hold new elections within six months of such dissolution is an effective check on the misuse of this power. At least, it ensures that henceforth Gram Panchayats will not remain superseded/dissolved for years together as had happened in the past.

4.2.6 Imposition of Taxes and Fees: Section 37 of the UP Panchayat Raj Act, 1947 makes the levy of one tax mandatory on all Gram Panchayats and nine taxes and fees discretionary. The mandatory tax is "a tax on land not less than twenty-five paise but not exceeding fifty paise in a rupee on the amount of land revenue payable or deemed to be payable therefor". The other taxes and fees leviable by Gram Panchayats are:

- a tax on theatre, cinema or similar entertainment temporarily stationed in the area of the Gram Panchayat, not exceeding five rupees per diem;
- a tax payable by the owner thereof on animals and vehicles other than mechanically propelled vehicles kept within the area of the Gram Panchayat and plied for hire at a rate not exceeding three rupees per animals per annum in the case of animals, and not exceeding six rupees per vehicle per annum in the case of vehicles;
- a tax on persons exposing goods for sale in markets, hats or melas belonging to or under the control of the Gram Panchayat concerned;
- fees on the registration of animals sold in any market or place belonging to or under the control of the Gram Panchayat;

- fees for the use of slaughter houses and encamping grounds;
- water rate where water for domestic consumption is supplied by the Gram Panchayat;
- tax for cleaning private latrines and drains payable by the owners or occupiers of houses to which the private latrine or drain is attached, where such cleaning is done through the agency of the Gram Panchayats;
- tax for cleaning and lighting of streets and sanitation;
- irrigation rate where water for irrigation is supplied by the Gram Panchayat from any small irrigation project constructed or maintained by it.

**Empowerment of Panchayti Raj Institution through 73<sup>rd</sup>  
Amendment : Its pros and consequences**

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Questionair No. ....

N a m e - .....

Name of Village-.....

Name of *Gram Panchayat*.....

Address-.....

Age- 21 to 25 ☐ 26 to 30 ☐ 30 to 40 ☐ above 40 ☐

Gender- Male ☐ Female ☐

Religion- Hindu ☐ Muslim ☐ Sikh ☐ Christian ☐

Caste- Upper ☐ Medium ☐ Upper ☐

Q. 1 Are you educated?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 2 If educated , up to which class?

up to V ☐ up to VIII ☐ up to X ☐ above XII ☐

Q. 3 What is your occupation?

Farmer ☐ Service ☐ Business ☐ Labour ☐ House Wife ☐

Q. 4 What is your average monthly income?

up to Rs. 2400 ☐ above Rs. 2400 ☐

Q. 5 Are you a member of any political party?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 6 If yes , which Party?

Congress ☐ Samajwadi ☐ Bahujan Samaj ☐

Bharatiya Janta ☐ Communist ☐ Any other ☐

Q. 7. Have you ever contested election for Pradhan / Panchayat member?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 8 If yes, when and what was the result?

Year

Result- Won ☐ Lost ☐

Post for- Pradhan ☐ Member ☐

Q. 9 Family Status:-

Serial No.	Name	Age	Male/ Female	Relation With Head of Family	Edu- cat- ion	Occu- pation	Inc- ome	Family Income
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								

**Panchayat then and now**

Q. 10 Were old *Panchayats* more powerful?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 11 If yes, why and how?.....

Q. 12 What were the main work areas of the old *Panchayats*?

Q. 13 What were the main financial sources of old *Panchayats*?

Q. 14 Were old *Panchayats* financially strong?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 15 Did anyone of the following categories have any influence on the old *Panchayats*?

Caste ☐ Age ☐ Sex ☐ Occupation ☐ Land holding ☐



- Q. 16 Did education have any importance in old *Panchayats*?  
 Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 17 Were the decisions taken by participation of all in old *Panchayats*?  
 Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 18 Were villagers satisfied with the working of old *Panchayats*?  
 Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 19 If yes, how much?  
 Fully satisfied ☐ Unsatisfied ☐ Satisfied ☐

### **Today's *Panchayats***

- Q. 20 Were last elections held in the same manner as held earlier?  
 Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 22 How did previous *Panchayat* function during the last five years?  
 Very good ☐ Average ☐ Not all properly ☐
- Q. 23 Did the village get benefit from new *Panchayat* policy?  
 Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 24 Is the representation of lower caste more in your *Panchayat* than other castes?  
 Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 25 Which age-group's representation is increasing in your *Panchayat*?  
 20-30 ☐ 30-40 ☐ above 40 years ☐
- Q. 26 Is gender discrimination decreasing in today's *Panchayat*?  
 Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 27 Is the representation of land-holders decreasing in your *Panchayat*?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 28 Do the people have any power in today's *Panchayat*?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 29 Has the interference of bureacacy been decreased in today's *Panchayat*?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 30 Is there any change in the pattern of leaders on the basis of education ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 31 Which of the following Committees have been constituted in your *gram panchayat* ?

1. Planning and Development Committee ☐

2. Education Committee ☐

3. Construction work Committee ☐

4. Health and welfare Committee ☐

5. Administrative Committee ☐

6. Water management Committee ☐

7. None of these ☐

Q. 32 Is your *Panchayat* capable of understanding the problems of the village and solve them at local level?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 33 Have you ever been benefitted by any of the following programmes?

1 . *Sampurn Grameen Rozgar Yojana* ☐

2 . *Suwarn Jayanti Gram Suwarozgar Yojana* ☐

3 . *Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana* ☐

4 . *Inadira Awas Yojna \ Ambedkar Awas Yojana* ☐

5 . Pradhan Mantri Gram Uday Yojana ☐

6 . Annapurna ☐

Q. 34 Did *gram panchayat* consult you about the developmental progress of the village?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 35 Have you ever given any suggestion to *gram panchayat* for the development of the village?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 36 If yes, were they accepted and what benefit did the village get from it?

.....

Q. 37 How many meetings of gram sabha should be convened at least in a year?

One ☐ Two ☐ Three ☐ More than that ☐

Q. 38 Did a gram panchayat give any detail of its work to the villagers such as *kharanja*, handpumps, pools etc?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 39 Can the developmental work be done capably with the funds which are available to a *panchayat*?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 40 Did a *gram panchayat* take any help from any government organisation or N.G.O. for the development of the village?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 41 If yes, details?.....

Q. 42 Is the participation of S.C./S.T. members ensured in the development work of the village?

Yes ☐ No ☐

- Q. 43 Is the of opposition involved by the *panchayats* in *gram panchayat* and is its voice heard?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 44 How does the *gram panchayat* secretary manage funds for village development?  
.....
- Q. 45 Does a *gram panchayat* complete village development work in time?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 46 Do government officials co-operate village development work?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 47 Does *gram panchayat* complete minor development work in time like repair of hand pumps, repair of school building etc.?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 48 If no , why?.....
- Q. 49 What type of relations do villagers have with government officials in a working area?  
Very good ☐ Average ☐ Bad ☐

### **Agriculture Work**

- Q. 50 What help dose a *panchayat* provide for agrcultural and agriculture expansion ?  
Irrigation facility ☐ New hybrid seeds ☐  
Fertilizers ☐ Pesticides and Insecticides ☐  
Right price of sugar cane ☐
- Q. 51 Does a *panchayat* contribute to land development,land reforms, land consolidation and land protection?  
Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 52 Does a *panchayat* help a village in areas like in veterinary,dairy, poultry?  
Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 53 Does a *panchayat* help in fishery?  
Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 54 Does a *panchayat* contribution in the construction of gram awas?  
Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 55 Does a *panchayat* contribute in small scale industry?  
Yes ☐ No ☐

**Village Development work**

Q. 56 Does a *panchayat* contribute to fodder and energy?  
Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 57 Does a *panchayat* contribute to the construction of roads,*puliya*, bridges, water routes and other means of transport?  
Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 58 Does a *panchayat* contribute to the electrification of the village which includes the distribution of electricity?  
Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 59 Does a *panchayat* help in poverty programmes?  
Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 60 Does a *panchayat* contribute to health and sanitation which includes a hospital and a primary health centre?  
Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 61 Does a *panchayat* contribute to social welfare which includes welfare of the handicapped and mentally retarded?  
Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 62 Does a *panchayat* contribute to the welfare of weaker sections, a specially schedule castes and scheduled tribes?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 63 Does a *panchayat* keep an eye on the quality of work done for village development?

Yes ☐ No ☐

### Education

Q. 64 Is any library running under the supervision of your *Panchayat*?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 65 Does a *panchayat* contribute to vocational education/ technical training?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 66 Is there a school in your village?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 67 If yes, up to which level?

Class 1 to 5 ☐

Class 5 to 10 ☐

Q. 68 Are the children of the age-group between 5 and 11 going to school?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 69 Did your *panchayat* make any separate arrangement for the education of girls?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 70 Does a *panchayat* pay proper attention on the attendance of teachers and the teachings of students?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 71 Did the *panchayat* make any arrangement for the education of the children of poor families?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 72 Did the *panchayat* make any arrangement for adult education?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 73 Is there a toilet facility in school?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 74 Is there a drinking-water facility in school?

Yes ☐ No ☐

**Women and Child development**

Q. 75 Does a panchayat have an arrangement for reservation of women?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 76 If yes, how much per cent ?

23 per cent ☐ 33 per cent ☐ 43 per cent ☐ None ☐

Q. 77 Can women progress from the reservation given to them?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 78 Do women participate in the discussions on village development?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 79 Does your village have an Anganwadi Centre?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 80 Do children get a nutritious diet at the Anganwadi Centre?

Yes ☐ No ☐

- Q. 81 Do A.N.M. and *Anganwadi* work in mutual co-operation?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 82 How many times does A.N.M. come to the village in a month?  
One week ☐ Two weeks ☐ Three weeks ☐ One Month ☐
- Q. 83 Does A.N.M. check pregnant women and give them iron pills?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 84 Does A.N.M. provide timely immunization to pregnant women, and, kids below 5 years?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 85 Where do villagers go for the child delivery?  
At their home ☐ Hospital ☐  
Trained midwife ☐ Un-trained midwife ☐
- Q. 86 Is there a Primary Health Centre in your village and are doctors and medicines available in time?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 87 Does the A.N.M. ensure the availability of temporary methods and information on family planning?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 88 Does panchayat check the working of A.N.M. in time?  
Yes ☐ No ☐

### Problems

- Q. 89 Are gram *panchayat* meetings held in time?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 90 Who sends the notice of a *gram panchayat* meeting?  
Secretery ☐ B.D.O. ☐ Pradhan ☐



- Q. 91 Is the agenda of such meetings sent in time?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q.92 Does nepotism still dominate in your panchayat?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q.93 Whether the problems of villagers are heard or not?  
Yes ☐ No ☐

### **Future**

- Q. 94 Does *panchayati raj* fullfil the dreams of village government?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 95 Does *panchayati raj* provide a strong leadership to the nation?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 96 Is *Panchayati Raj* successful in abolishing social discrimination like rich-poor, male-female and other like evils?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 97 Does *Panchayati Raj* provide right to equality to each class?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 98 Have the members of a panchayat been given any training ?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 99 Which organization gave the traning?  
.....
- Q. 100 Should this type of training be continued in future?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- Q. 101 Did you benifit by the training in conducting the *Panchayat* work?  
Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 102 What extra should be done according to you for the acceleration of *panchayat* work?

-----

Q. 103 Did *panchayat* *Raj* make the villagers conscious about their rights and duties ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q. 104 If yes, how?

-----

Q. 105 What according to you are the problems *panchayats* have not solve yet?

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Q. 106 What sort of help can you provide in future in order to develop your village?

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